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THE

LIFE

And Strange Surprizing

ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE,

Of *YORK*, Mariner:

Who lived eight and twenty Years all alone in an un-inhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River of *Oroonoque*;

Having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself.

With an ACCOUNT how he was at last as strangely deliver'd by Pyrates.

Written by Himself.

The Third Edition.

LONDON: Printed for W. Taylor at the *Ship* in *Pater-Noster-Row*. MDCCXIX.

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THE

PREFACE,

IF ever the Story of any private Man's Adventures in the World were worth making Publick, and were acceptable when Publish'd, the Editor of this Account thinks this will be so.

The Wonders of this Man's Life exceed all that (he thinks) is to be found extant; the Life of one Man being scarce capable of a greater Variety.

The Story is told with Modesty, with Seriousness, and with a religious Application of Events to the Uses to which wise Men always apply

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apply them (viz.) to the Inſtruction of others by this Example, and to juſtify and honour the Wiſdom of Providence in all the Variety of our Circumſtances, let them happen how they will.

The Editor believes the thing to be a juſt Hiſtory of Fact; neither is their any Appearance of Fiction in it; And however thinks, becauſe all ſuch Things are diſputed, that the Improvement of it, as well to the Diverſion, as to the Inſtruction of the Reader, will be the ſame; and as ſuch, he thinks, without farther Compliment to the World, he does them a great Service in the Publication.

THE

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THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE, &c.

I Was born in the Year 1632, in the City of *York*, of a good Family, tho' not of that Country, my Father being a Foreigner of *Bremen*, who ſettled firſt at *Hull*: He got a good Eſtate by Merchandize, and leaving off his Trade, lived afterward at *York*, from whence he had married my Mother, whoſe Relations were named *Robinſon*, a very good Family in that Country, and from whom I was called *Robinſon Kreutznaer*; but by the uſual Corruption of Words in *England*, we are now called, nay we call our ſelves, and write our Name *Cruſoe*, and ſo my Companions always call'd me.

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I had two elder Brothers, one of which was Lieutenant-Collonel to an *Engliſh* Regiment of Foot in *Flanders*, formerly commanded by the famous Col. *Lockhart*, and was killed at the Battle near *Dunkirk* againſt the *Spaniards*: What became of my ſecond Brother I never knew, any more than my Father or Mother did know what was become of me.

Being the third Son of the Family, and not bred to any Trade, my Head began to be fill'd very early with rambling Thoughts: My Father, who was very ancient, had given me a competent Share of Learning, as far as Houſe-Education, and a Country Free-School generally goes, and deſign'd me for the Law; but I would be ſatisfied with nothing but going to Sea, and my Inclination to this led me ſo ſtrongly againſt the Will, nay, the Commands of my Father, and againſt all the Entreaties and Perſuaſions of my Mother, and other Friends, that there ſeem'd to be ſomething fatal in that propenſion of Nature tending directly towards the Life of Miſery which was to befal me.

My Father, a wiſe and grave Man, gave me ſerious and excellent Counſel againſt what he foreſaw was my Deſign. He called me one Morning into his Chamber, where he was confined by the Gout, and expoſtulated very warmly with me upon this Subject: He ask'd me what Reaſons more than a meer wandring Inclination I had for leaving my Father's Houſe and my native Country, where I might be well introduced, and had a Proſpect of raiſing my Fortune by Application and Induſtry, with a Life of Eaſe and Pleaſure. He told me it was for Men of deſperate Fortunes on one Hand, or of aſpiring, ſuperior Fortunes on the other, who went abroad upon Adventures, to riſe by Enterprize, and make themſelves famous in Undertakings of a Nature out of the common Road; that

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that these Things were all either too far above me, or too far below me; that mine was the middle State, or what might be called the upper Station of *Low Life*, which he had found by long Experience was the best State in the World, the most suited to human Happiness, not exposed to the Miseries and Hardships, the Labour and Sufferings of the mechanick Part of Mankind, and not embarass'd with the Pride, Luxury, Ambition and Envy of the upper Part of Mankind. He told me, I might judge of the Happiness of this State, by this one thing, *viz.* That this was the State of Life which all other People envied; that Kings have frequently lamented the miserable Consequences of being born to great Things, and wish they had been placed in the Middle of the two Extremes, between the Mean and the Great; that the wise Man gave his Testimony to this as the just Standard of true Felicity, when he prayed to have neither Poverty or Riches.

He bid me observe it, and I should always find, that the Calamities of Life were shared among the upper and lower Part of Mankind; but that the middle Station had the fewest Disasters, and was not expos'd to so many Vicissitudes as the higher or lower Part of Mankind; nay, they were not subjected to so many Distempers and Uneasinesses either of Body or Mind, as those were, who by vicious Living, Luxury and Extravagancies on one Hand, or by hard Labour, want of Necessaries, and mean or insufficient Diet on the other Hand, bring Distempers upon themselves by the natural Consequences of their Way of Living; *That* the middle Station of Life was calculated for all kind of Virtues and all kind of Enjoyments; that Peace and Plenty were the Hand-maids of a middle Fortune; that Temperance, Moderation, Quietness, Health,

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Society, all agreeable Diverſions, and all deſirable Pleaſures, were the Bleſſings attending the middle Station of Life; that this Way Men went ſilently and ſmoothly thro' the World, and comfortably out of it, not embaraſs'd with the Labours of the Hands or of the Head, not ſold to the Life of Slavery for daily Bread, or harraſs'd with perplex'd Circumſtances which rob the Soul of Peace, and the Body of Reſt; not enrag'd with the Paſſion of Envy, or ſecret burning Luſt of Ambition for great Things; but in eaſy Circumſtances ſliding gently thro' the World, and ſenſibly taſting the Sweets of living, without the bitter, feeling that they are happy, and learning by every Day's Experience to know it more ſenſibly.

After this he preſs'd me earneſtly, and in the moſt affectionate manner, not to play the young Man, not to precipitate my ſelf into Miſeries which Nature and the Station of Life I was born in, ſeem'd to have provided againſt; that I was under no Neceſſity of ſeeking my Bread; that he would do well for me, and endeavour to enter me fairly into the Station of Life which he had been juſt recommending to me; and that if I was not very eaſy and happy in the World, it muſt be my meer Fate or Fault that muſt hinder it, and that he ſhould have nothing to anſwer for, having thus diſcharg'd his Duty in warning me againſt Meaſures which he knew would be to my Hurt: In a word, that as he would do very kind Things for me if I would ſtay and ſettle at Home as he directed, ſo he would not have ſo much Hand in my Misfortunes, as to give me any Encouragement to go away: And to cloſe all, he told me, I had my elder Brother for an Example, to whom he had uſed the ſame earneſt Perſuaſions to keep him from going into the Low-County Wars, but cou'd not prevail

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vail, his young Desires prompting him to run into the Army where he was kill'd; and tho' he said he would not cease to pray for me, yet he would venture to say to me, that if I did take this foolish Step, God would not bless me, and I would have Leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his Counsel, when there might be none to assist in my Recovery.

I observed in this last Part of his Discourse, which was truly Prophetick, tho' I suppose my Father did not know it to be so himself; I say, I observed the Tears run down his Face very plentifully, and especially when he spoke of my Brother who was kill'd; and that when he spoke of my having Leisure to repent, and none to assist me, he was so mov'd, that he broke off the Discourse, and told me, his Heart was so full, he could say no more to me.

I was sincerely affected with this Discourse, as indeed who could be otherwise? and I resolv'd not to think of going Abroad any more, but to settle at Home according to my Father's Desire. But alas! a few Days wore it all off; and in short, to prevent any of my Father's farther Importunities, in a few Weeks after, I resolv'd to run quite away from him. However, I did not act so hastily neither as my first Heat of Resolution prompted, but I took my Mother, at a Time when I thought her a little pleasanter than ordinary, and told her, that my Thoughts were so entirely bent upon seeing the World, that I should never settle to any thing with Resolution enough to go through with it, and my Father had better give me his Consent than force me to go without it; that I was now eighteen Years old, which was too late to go Apprentice to a Trade, or Clerk to an Attorney; that I was sure if I did, I should never serve out my Time, and I

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ſhould certainly run away from my Maſter before my Time was out, and go to Sea; and if ſhe would ſpeak to my Father to let me go one Voyage abroad, if I came home again and did not like it, I would go no more, and I would promiſe by a double Diligence to recover that Time I had loſt.

This put my Mother into a great Paſſion: She told me, ſhe knew it would be to no Purpoſe to ſpeak to my Father upon any ſuch Subject; that he knew too well what was my Intereſt to give his Conſent to any ſuch Thing ſo much for my Hurt, and that ſhe wondered how I could think of any ſuch Thing after ſuch a Diſcourſe as I had had with my Father, and ſuch kind and tender Expreſſions as ſhe knew my Father had us'd to me; and that in ſhort, if I would ruin my ſelf, there was no Help for me; but I might depend I ſhould never have their Conſent to it: That for her Part ſhe would not have ſo much Hand in my Deſtruction; and I ſhould never have it to ſay, that my Mother was willing when my Father was not.

Tho' my Mother refuſed to move it to my Father, yet as I have heard afterwards, ſhe reported all the Diſcourſe to him, and that my Father, after ſhewing a great Concern at it, ſaid to her with a Sigh, That Boy might be happy if he would ſtay at home, but if he goes abroad, he will be the moſt miſerableſt Wretch that ever was born: I can give no Conſent to it.

It was not till almoſt a Year after this that I broke looſe, tho' in the mean time I continued obſtinately deaf to all Propoſals of ſettling to Buſineſs, and frequently expoſtulating with my Father and Mother, about their being ſo poſitively determin'd againſt what they knew my Inclinations prompted me to. But being one Day at *Hull*, where I went caſually, and without any Purpoſe of making an Elopement

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that time; but I say, being there, and one of my Companions being going by Sea to *London*, in his Father's Ship, and prompting me to go with them, with the common Allurement of Seafaring Men, *viz.* That it should cost me nothing for my Passage, I consulted neither Father nor Mother any more, nor so much as sent them Word of it; but leaving them to hear of it as they might, without asking God's Blessing, or my Father's, without any Consideration of Circumstances or Consequences, and in an ill Hour, God knows, on the first of *September* 1651, I went on Board a Ship bound for *London*: Never any young Adventurer's Misfortunes, I believe, began sooner, or continued longer than mine. The Ship was no sooner gotten out of the *Humber*, but the Wind began to blow, and the Sea to rise in a most frightful manner; and as I had never been at Sea before, I was most inexpressibly sick in Body, and terrify'd in Mind: I began now seriously to reflect upon what I had done, and how justly I was overtaken by the Judgment of Heaven for my wicked leaving my Father's House, and abandoning my Duty; all the good Counsel of my Parents, my Father's Tears, and my Mother's Entreaties came now fresh into my Mind; and my Conscience, which was not yet come to the Pitch of Hardness to which it has been since, reproach'd me with the Contempt of Advice, and the Breach of my Duty to God and my Father.

All this while the Storm encreas'd, and the Sea, which I had never been upon before, went very high, tho' nothing like what I have seen many times since; no, nor like what I saw a few Days after: But it was enough to affect me then, who was but a young Sailor, and had never known any thing of the Matter. I expected every Wave would have swallowed us up, and that every time the Ship fell down, as I thought, in the Trough or Hollow

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of the Sea, we ſhould never riſe more; and in this Agony of Mind, I made many Vows and Reſolutions, that if it would pleaſe God here to ſpare my Life this one Voyage, if ever I got once my Foot upon dry Land again, I would go directly home to my Father, and never ſet it into a Ship again while I liv'd; that I would take his Advice, and never run my ſelf into ſuch Miſeries as theſe any more. Now I ſaw plainly the Goodneſs of his Obſervations about the middle Station of Life, how eaſy, how comfortably he had liv'd all his Days, and never had been expos'd to Tempeſts at Sea, or Troubles on Shore; and I reſolv'd that I would, like a true repenting Prodigal, go home to my Father.

Theſe wiſe and ſober Thoughts continued all the while the Storm continued, and indeed ſome time after; but the next Day the Wind was abated and the Sea calmer, and I began to be a little innur'd to it: However, I was very grave for all that Day, being alſo a little Sea ſick ſtill; but towards Night the Weather clear'd up, the Wind was quite over, a charming fine Evening follow'd; the Sun went down perfectly clear, and roſe ſo the next Morning; and having little or no Wind, and a ſmooth Sea, the Sun ſhining upon it, the Sight was, as I thought, the moſt delightful that ever I ſaw.

I had ſlept well in the Night, and was now no more Sea-ſick, but very chearful, looking with Wonder upon the Sea that was ſo rough and terrible the Day before, and could be ſo calm and ſo pleaſant in ſo little time after. And now leaſt my good Reſolutions ſhould continue, my Companion, who had indeed entic'd me away, comes to me, *Well*, Bob, ſays he, clapping me on the Shoulder, *How do you do after it? I warrant you were frighted, wa'n't you laſt Night, when it blew but a Cap full of Wind?*

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Wind? A Cap full d'you call it? ſaid I, *'twas a terrible Storm: A Storm, you Fool you,* replies he, *do you call that a Storm, why it was nothing at all; give us but a good Ship and Sea-room, and we think nothing of ſuch a Squall of Wind as that; but you're but a freſh Water Sailor,* Bob; *come let us make a Bowl of Punch and we'll forget all that, d'ye ſee what charming Weather 'tis now.* To make ſhort this ſad Part of my Story, we went the old way of all Sailors, the Punch was made, and I was made drunk with it, and in that one Night's Wickedneſs I drowned all my Repentance, all my Reflections upon my paſt Conduct, and all my Reſolutions for my future. In a word, as the Sea was returned to its Smoothneſs of Surface and ſettled Calmneſs by the Abatement of that Storm, ſo the Hurry of my Thoughts being over, my Fears and Apprehenſions of being ſwallow'd up by the Sea being forgotten, and the Current of my former Deſires return'd, I entirely forgot the Vows and Promiſes that I made in my Diſtreſs. I found indeed ſome Intervals of Reflection, and the ſerious Thoughts did, as it were, endeavour to return again ſometimes, but I ſhook them off, and rouz'd my ſelf from them as it were from a Diſtemper, and applying my ſelf to Drinking and Company, ſoon maſter'd the Return of thoſe Fits, for ſo I call'd them, and I had in five or ſix Days got as compleat a Victory over Conſcience as any young Fellow that reſolv'd not to be troubl'd with it, could deſire: But I was to have another Trial for it ſtill; and Providence, as in ſuch Caſes generally it does, reſolv'd to leave me entirely without Excuſe. For if I would not take this for a Deliverance, the next was to be ſuch a one as the worſt and moſt harden'd Wretch among us would confeſs both the Danger and the Mercy.

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The sixth Day of our being at Sea we came into *Yarmouth* Roads; the Wind having been contrary, and the Weather calm, we had made but little Way since the Storm. Here we were obliged to come to an Anchor, and here we lay, the Wind continuing contrary, *viz.* at South-west, for seven or eight Days, during which time a great many Ships from *Newcastle* came into the same Roads, as the common Harbour where the Ships might wait for a Wind for the River.

We had not however rid here so long, but should have Tided it up the River, but that the Wind blew too fresh; and after we had lain four or five Days, blew very hard. However, the Roads being reckoned as good as a Harbour, the Anchorage good, and our Ground-Tackle very strong, our Men were unconcerned, and not in the least apprehensive of Danger, but spent the Time in Rest and Mirth, after the manner of the Sea; but the eighth Day in the Morning, the Wind increased, and we had all Hands at Work to strike our Top-Masts, and make every thing snug and close, that the Ship might ride as easy as possible. By Noon the Sea went very high indeed, and our Ship rid *Forecastle in*, shipp'd several Seas, and we thought once or twice our Anchor had come home; upon which our Master order'd out the Sheet Anchor; so that we rode with two Anchors a-head, and the Cables vered out to the better End.

By this Time it blew a terrible Storm indeed, and now I began to see Terror and Amazement in the Faces even of the Seamen themselves. The Master, tho' vigilant in the Business of preserving the Ship, yet as he went in and out of his Cabbin by me, I could hear him softly to himself say several times, *Lord be merciful to us, we shall be all lost, we shall be all undone*; and the like. During these first Hur-

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Hurries, I was ſtupid, lying ſtill in my Cabbin, which was in the Steerage, and cannot deſcribe my Temper: I could ill re-aſſume the firſt Penitence, which I had ſo apparently trampled upon, and harden'd my ſelf againſt: I thought the Bitterneſs of Death had been paſt, and that this would be nothing too like the firſt. But when the Maſter himſelf came by me, as I ſaid juſt now, and ſaid we ſhould be all loſt, I was dreadfully frighted: I got up out of my Cabbin, and look'd out; but ſuch a diſmal Sight I never ſaw: The Sea went Mountains high, and broke upon us every three or four Minutes: When I could look about, I could ſee nothing but Diſtreſs round us: Two Ships that rid near us, we found, had cut their Maſts by the Board, being deep loaden; and our Men cry'd out, that a Ship which rid about a Mile a-Head of us was foundered. Two more Ships being driven from their Anchors, were run out of the Roads to Sea, at all Adventures, and that with not a Maſt ſtanding. The light Ships fared the beſt, as not ſo much labouring in the Sea; but two or three of them drove, and came cloſe by us, running away with only their Sprit-ſail out before the Wind.

Towards Evening the Mate and Boatſwain begg'd the Maſter of our Ship to let them cut away the Fore-maſt, which he was very unwilling to: But the Boatſwain proteſting to him, that if he did not, the Ship would founder, he conſented; and when they had cut away the Fore-maſt, the Main-maſt ſtood ſo looſe, and ſhook the Ship ſo much, they were obliged to cut her away alſo, and make a clear Deck.

Any one may judge what a Condition I muſt be in at all this, who was but a young Sailor, and who had been in ſuch a Fright before at but a little. But if I can expreſs at this Diſtance the Thoughts

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Thoughts I had about me at that time, I was in tenfold more Horror of Mind upon Account of my former Convictions, and the having returned from them to the Reſolutions I had wickedly taken at firſt, than I was at Death it ſelf; and theſe added to the Terror of the Storm, put me into ſuch a Condition, that I can by no words deſcribe it. But the worſt was not come yet, the Storm continued with ſuch Fury, that the Seamen themſelves acknowledged they had never known a worſe. We had a good Ship, but ſhe was deep loaden, and wallowed in the Sea, that the Seamen every now and then cried out, ſhe would founder. It was my advantage in one reſpect, that I did not know what they meant by Founder, till I enquir'd. However, the Storm was ſo violent, that I ſaw what is not often ſeen, the Maſter, the Boatſwain, and ſome others more ſenſible than the reſt, at their Prayers, and expecting every Moment when the Ship would go to the Bottom. In the Middle of the Night, and under all the reſt of of our Diſtreſſes, one of the Men that had been down on Purpoſe to ſee, cried out we had ſprung a Leak; another ſaid there was four Foot Water in the Hold. Then all Hands were called to the Pump. At that very Word, my Heart, as I thought, died within me, and I fell backwards upon the Side of my Bed where I ſat, into the Cabin. However, the Men rouſed me, and told me, that I that was able to do nothing before, was as well able to pump as another; at which I ſtirr'd up, and went to the Pump and work'd very heartily. While this was doing, the Maſter ſeeing ſome light Colliers, who not able to ride out the Storm, were oblig'd to ſlip and run away to Sea, and would come near us, order'd to fire a Gun as a Signal of Diſtreſs. I who knew nothing what that meant, was ſo ſurprized, that I thought the Ship had broke, or ſome dread-

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dreadful thing had happen'd. In a word, I was ſo ſurprized, that I fell down in a Swoon. As this was a time when every Body had his own Life to think of, no Body minded me, or what was become of me; but another Man ſtept up to the Pump, and thruſting me aſide with his Foot, let me lye, thinking I had been Dead; and it was a great while before I came to my ſelf.

We work'd on, but the Water encreaſing in the Hold, it was apparent that the Ship would founder, and tho' the Storm began to abate a little, yet as it was not poſſible ſhe could ſwim till we might run into a Port, ſo the Maſter continued firing Guns for Help; and a light Ship who had rid it out juſt a Head of us, ventured a Boat out to help us. It was with the utmoſt hazard the Boat came near us, but it was impoſſible for us to get on Board, or for the Boat to lie near the Ship Side, till at laſt the Men rowing very heartily, and venturing their Lives to ſave ours, our Men caſt them a Rope over the Stern with a Buoy to it, and then vered it out a great Length, which they after great Labour and Hazard took hold of, and we hawl'd them cloſe under our Stern and got all into their Boat. It was to no Purpoſe for them or us after we were in the Boat to think of reaching to their own Ship, ſo all agreed to let her drive, and only to pull her in towards Shore as much as we could, and our Maſter promiſed them, That if the Boat was ſtav'd upon Shore he would make it good to their Maſter, ſo partly rowing and partly driving, our Boat went away to the Northward, ſloaping towards the Shore almoſt as far as *Winterton-Neſs*.

We were not much more than a quarter of an Hour out of our Ship but we ſaw her ſink, and then I underſtood for the firſt time what was meant by a Ship foundering in the Sea; I muſt acknowledge

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ledge I had hardly Eyes to look up when the Seamen told me she was sinking; for from that Moment they rather put me into the Boat than that I might be said to go in, my Heart was as it were dead within me, partly with Fright, partly with Horror of Mind and the Thoughts of what was yet before me.

While we were in this Condition, the Men yet labouring at the Oar to bring the Boat near the Shore, we could see, *when our Boat mounting the Waves, we were able to see any thing*, a great many People running along the Strand to assist us when we should come near, but we made but slow way towards the Land, nor were we able to reach the Shore, till being past the Light-House at *Winterton*, the Coast falls off to the Westward towards *Cromer*, and so the Land broke off a little the Violence of the Wind: Here we got in, and tho' not without much Difficulty got all safe on Shore, and walk'd afterwards on Foot to *Yarmouth*, where, as unfortunate Men, we were used with great Humanity, as well by the Magistrates of the Town, who assign'd us good Quarters, as by particular Merchants and Owners of Ships, and had Money given us sufficient to carry us either to *London*, or back to *Hull*, as we thought fit.

Had I now had the Sense to have gone back to *Hull*, and have gone home, I had been happy, and my Father, an Embleme of our blessed Saviour's Parable, had even kill'd the fatted Calf for me; for hearing the Ship I went away in, was cast away in *Yarmouth* Road, it was a great while before he had any Assurance that I was not drown'd.

But my ill Fate push'd me on now with an Obstinacy that nothing could resist; and tho' I had several times loud Calls from my Reason and my more composed Judgment to go home, yet I had

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no Power to do it. I know not what to call this, nor will I urge, that it is a ſecret over-ruling Decree that hurries us on to be the Inſtruments of our own Deſtruction, even tho' it be before us, and that we puſh upon it with our Eyes open. Certainly nothing but ſome ſuch decreed unavoidable Miſery attending, and which it was impoſſible for me to eſcape, could have puſh'd me forward againſt the calm Reaſonings and Perſuaſions of my moſt retired Thoughts, and againſt two ſuch viſible Inſtructions as I had met with in my firſt Attempt.

My Comrade, who had help'd to harden me before, and who was the Maſter's Son, was now leſs forward than I; the firſt time he ſpoke to me after we were at *Yarmouth*, which was not till two or three Days, for we were ſeparated in the Town to ſeveral Quarters; I ſay, the firſt time he ſaw me, it appear'd his Tone was alter'd, and looking very melancholy, and ſhaking his Head, ask'd me how I did, and telling his Father who I was, and how I had come this Voyage only for a Trial, in order to go farther abroad; his Father turning to me with a very grave and concern'd Tone, *Young Man*, ſays he, *you ought never to go to Sea any more, you ought to take this for a plain and viſible Token that you are not to be a Seafaring Man.* Why, Sir, ſaid I, will you go to Sea no more? *That is another Caſe*, ſaid he, *it is my Calling, and therefore my Duty; but as you made this Voyage for a Tryal, you ſee what a Taſte Heaven has given you of what you are to expect if you perſiſt; perhaps this is all befallen us on your Account, like* Jonah *in the Ship of* Tarſhiſh. *Pray*, continues he, *what are you? And on what Account did you go to Sea?* Upon that I told him ſome of my Story; at the End of which he burſt out with a ſtrange kind of Paſſion, What had I done, ſays he, that ſuch an unhappy Wretch ſhould come into my Ship; I would not ſet my Foot in the

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the ſame Ship with thee again for a thouſand Pounds. This indeed was, as I ſaid, an Excurſion of his Spirits which were yet agitated by the Senſe of his Loſs, and was farther than he could have Authority to go. However he afterwards talk'd very gravly to me exhorted me to go back to my Father, and not tempt Providence to my Ruin; told me I might ſee a viſible Hand of Heaven againſt me, *And young Man*, ſaid he, *depend upon it; if you do not go back, where-ever you go, you will meet with nothing but Diſaſters and Diſappointments, till your Father's Words are fulfilled upon you.*

We parted ſoon after; for I made him little Anſwer, and I ſaw him no more; which way he went, I know not. As for me, having ſome Money in my Pocket, I travelled to *London* by Land; and there, as well as on the Road, had many Struggles with my ſelf, what Courſe of Life I ſhould take, and whether I ſhould go Home, or go to Sea.

As to going Home, Shame oppoſed the beſt Motions that offered to my Thoughts; and it immediately occurr'd to me how I ſhould be laugh'd at among the Neighbours, and ſhould be aſham'd to ſee, not my Father and Mother only, but even every Body elſe; from whence I have ſince often obſerved, how incongruous and irrational the common Temper of Mankind is, eſpecially of Youth, to that Reaſon which ought to guide them in ſuch Caſes, *viz.* That they are aſham'd to ſin, and yet are aſham'd to repent; not aſham'd of the Action for which they ought juſtly to be eſteemed Fools, but are aſham'd of the returning, which only can make them be eſteem'd wiſe Men.

In this State of Life, however, I remained ſome time, uncertain what Meaſures to take, and what Courſe of Life to lead. An irreſiſtible Reluctance continu'd to going Home; and as I ſtay'd a while, the

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the Remembrance of the Diſtreſs I had been in wore off; and as that abated, the little Motion I had in my Deſires to a Return wore off with it, till at laſt I quite laid aſide the Thoughts of it, and look'd out for a Voyage.

That evil Influence which carried me firſt away from my Father's Houſe, that hurried me into the wild and indigeſted Notion of raiſing my Fortune; and that impreſt thoſe Conceits ſo forciby upon me, as to make me deaf to all good Advice, and to the Entreaties, and even Command of my Father: I ſay, the ſame Influence, whatever it was, preſented the moſt unfortunate of all Enterprizes to my View; and I went on Board a Veſſel bound to the Coaſt of *Africa*; or as our Sailors vulgarly call it, a Voyage to *Guiney*.

It was my great Misfortune that in all theſe Adventures I did not ſhip my ſelf as a Sailor; whereby, tho' indeed I might have work'd a little harder than ordinary, yet at the ſame time I had learn'd the Duty and Office of a Fore-maſt Man; and in time might have qualify'd my ſelf for a Mate or Lieutenant, if not for a Maſter. But as it was always my Fate to chooſe for the worſe, ſo I did here; for having Money in my Pocket, and good Cloaths upon my Back, I would always go on Board in the Habit of a Gentleman; and ſo I neither had any Buſineſs in the Ship, or learn'd to do any.

It was my Lot firſt of all to fall into pretty good Company in *London*, which does not always happen to ſuch looſe and unguided young Fellows as I then was; the Devil generally not omitting to lay ſome Snare for them very early: But it was not ſo with me, I firſt fell acquainted with the Maſter of a Ship who had been on the Coaſt of *Guiney*; and who having had very good Succeſs there, was re-

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ſolved to go again; and who taking a Fancy to my Converſation, which was not at all diſagreeable at that time, hearing me ſay I had a mind to ſee the World, told me, if I wou'd go the Voyage with him I ſhould be at no Expence; I ſhould be his Meſs-mate and his Companion, and if I could carry any Thing with me, I ſhould have all the Advantage of it that the Trade would admit; and perhaps I might meet with ſome Encouragement.

I embrac'd the Offer, and entring into a ſtrict Friendſhip with this Captain, who was an honeſt and plain-dealing Man, I went the Voyage with him, and carried a ſmall Adventure with me, which by the diſintereſted Honeſty of my Friend the Captain, I increaſed very conſiderably; for I carried about 40 *l.* in ſuch Toys and Trifles as the Captain directed me to buy. This 40 *l.* I had muſtered together by the Aſſiſtance of ſome of my Relations whom I correſponded with, and who, I believe, got my Father, or at leaſt my Mother, to contribute ſo much as that to my firſt Adventure.

This was the only Voyage which I may ſay was ſucceſsful in all my Adventures, and which I owe to the Integrity and Honeſty of my Friend the Captain, under whom alſo I got a competent Knowledge of the Mathematicks and the Rules of Navigation, learn'd how to keep an Account of the Ship's Courſe, take an Obſervation; and in ſhort, to underſtand ſome Things that were needful to be underſtood by a Sailor: For, as he took Delight to introduce me, I took Delight to learn; and, in a Word, this Voyage made me both a Sailor and a Merchant: For I brought Home *L.* 5. 9 *Ounces* of Gold Duſt for my Adventure, which yielded me in *London*, at my Return, almoſt 300 *l.* and this fill'd me with thoſe aſpiring Thoughts which have ſince ſo compleated my Ruin.

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Yet even in this Voyage I had my Misfortunes too; particularly, that I was continually ſick; being thrown into a violent Calenture by the exceſſive Heat of the Climate; our principal Trading being upon the Coaſt, from the Latitude of 15 Degrees, North even to the Line it ſelf.

I was now ſet up for a *Guiney Trader*; and my Friend, to my great Misfortune, dying ſoon after his Arrival, I reſolv'd to go the ſame Voyage again, and I embark'd in the ſame Veſſel with one who was his Mate in the former Voyage, and had now got the Command of the Ship. This was the unhappieſt Voyage that ever Man made; for tho' I did not carry quite 100 *l.* of my new gain'd Wealth, ſo that I had 200 *l.* left, and which I lodg'd with my Friend's Widow, who was very juſt to me, yet I fell into terrible Misfortunes in this Voyage; and the firſt was this, *viz.* Our Ship making her Courſe towards the *Canary* Iſlands, or rather between thoſe Iſlands and the *African* Shore, was ſurprized in the Grey of the Morning, by a *Turkiſh* Rover of *Sallee*, who gave Chaſe to us with all the Sail ſhe could make. We crowded alſo as much Canvaſs as our Yards would ſpread, or our Maſts carry, to have got clear; but finding the Pirate gain'd upon us, and would certainly come up with us in a few Hours, we prepar'd to fight; our Ship having 12 Guns, and the Rogue 18. About three in the Afternoon he came up with us, and bringing too by Miſtake, juſt athwart our Quarter, inſtead of athwart our Stern, as he intended, we brought 8 of our Guns to bear on that Side, and pour'd in a Broadſide upon him, which made him ſheer off again, after returning our Fire, and pouring in alſo his ſmall Shot from near 200 Men which he had on Board. However, we had not a Man touch'd, all our Men keeping cloſe. He prepar'd to attack us

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again, and we to defend our ſelves; but laying us on Board the next time upon our other Quarter, he enter'd ſixty Men upon our Decks, who immediately fell to cutting and hacking the Decks and Rigging. We ply'd them with Small-ſhot, Half-Pikes, Powder-Cheſts, and ſuch like, and clear'd our Deck of them twice. However, to cut ſhort this melancholy Part of our Story, our Ship being diſabled, and three of our Men kill'd, and eight wounded, we were obliged to yield, and were carry'd all Priſoners into *Sallee*, a Port belonging to the *Moors*.

The Uſage I had there was not ſo dreadful as at firſt I apprehended, nor was I carried up the Country to the Emperor's Court, as the reſt of our Men were, but was kept by the Captain of the Rover, as his proper Prize, and made his Slave, being young and nimble, and fit for his Buſineſs. At this ſurprizing Change of my Circumſtances from a Merchant to a miſerable Slave, I was perfectly overwhelmed; and now I look'd back upon my Father's prophetick Diſcourſe to me, that I ſhould be miſerable, and have none to relieve me, which I thought was now ſo effectually brought to paſs, that it could not be worſe; that now the Hand of Heaven had overtaken me, and I was undone without Redemption. But alaſs! this was but a Taſte of the Miſery I was to go thro', as will appear in the Sequel of this Story.

As my new Patron or Maſter had taken me Home to his Houſe, ſo I was in Hopes that he would take me with him when he went to Sea again, believing that it would ſome time or other be his Fate to be taken by a *Spaniſh* or *Portugal* Man of War; and that then I ſhould be ſet at Liberty. But this Hope of mine was ſoon taken away; for when he went to Sea, he left me on Shore to look after his little

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little Garden, and do the common Drudgery of Slaves about his House; and when he came Home again from his Cruise, he order'd me to lie in the Cabin to look after the Ship.

Here I meditated nothing but my Escape; and what Method I might take to effect it, but found no Way that had the least Probability in it: Nothing presented to make the Supposition of it rational; for I had no Body to communicate it to, that would embark with me; no Fellow-Slave, no *English* Man, *Irish* Man, or *Scotch* Man there but my self; so that for two Years, tho' I often pleased my self with the Imagination, yet I never had the least encouraging Prospect of putting it in Practice.

After about two Years, an odd Circumstance presented it self, which put the old Thought of making some Atttempt for my Liberty, again in my Head: My Patron lying at Home longer than usual, without fitting out his Ship, which, as I heard, was for want of Money; he used constantly, once or twice a Week, sometimes oftner, if the Weather was fair, to take the Ship's Pinnace, and go out into the Road a fishing; and as he always took me and a young *Maresco* with him to row the Boat, we made him very merry, and I prov'd very dexterous in catching Fish; insomuch that sometimes he would send me with a *Moor*, one of his Kinsmen, and the Youth the *Maresco*, as they call'd him, to catch a Dish of Fish for him.

It happen'd one time, that going a fishing in a stark calm Morning, a Fog rose so thick, that tho' we were not half a League from the Shore we lost Sight of it; and rowing we knew not whither or which Way, we labour'd all Day and all the next Night, and when the Morning came we found we had pull'd off to Sea instead of pulling in for the Shore; and that we were at least two Leagues from

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the Shore: However, we got well in again, tho' with a great deal of Labour, and some Danger; for the Wind began to blow pretty fresh in the Morning; but particularly we were all very hungry.

But our Patron, warn'd by this Disaster, resolved to take more Care of himself for the future; and having lying by him the Long-Boat of our *English* Ship they had taken, he resolved he would not go a fishing any more without a Compass and some Provision; so he ordered the Carpenter of his Ship, who also was an *English* Slave, to build a little State-Room or Cabin in the middle of the Long-Boat, like that of a Barge, with a Place to stand behind it to steer and hale home the Main-sheet; and Room before for a Hand or two to stand and work the Sails? She sail'd with that we call a Shoulder of Mutton Sail; and the Boom gib'd over the Top of the Cabin, which lay very snug and low, and had in it Room for him to lie, with a Slave or two, and a Table to eat on, with some small Lockers to put in some Bottles of such Liquor as he thought fit to drink; particularly his Bread, Rice and Coffee.

We went frequently out with this Boat a fishing, and as I was most dextrous to catch Fish for him, he never went without me: It happen'd that he had appointed to go out in this Boat, either for Pleasure or for Fish, with two or three *Moors* of some Distinction in that Place, and for whom he had provided extraordinarily; and had therefore sent on Board the Boat over Night, a larger Store of Provisions than ordinary; and had order'd me to get ready three Fuzees with Powder and Shot, which were on Board his Ship; for that they design'd some Sport of Fowling as well as Fishing.

I got all Things ready as he had directed, and waited the next Morning with the Boat, washed clean,

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clean, her Antient and Pendants out, and every thing to accommodate his Gueſts; when by and by my Patron came on Board alone, and told me his Gueſts had put off going, upon ſome Buſineſs that fell out, and order'd me with the Man and Boy, as uſual, to go out with the Boat and catch them ſome Fiſh, for that his Friends were to ſup at his Houſe; and commanded that as ſoon as I had got ſome Fiſh I ſhould bring it home to his Houſe; all which I prepar'd to do.

This Moment my former Notions of Deliverance darted into my Thoughts, for now I found I was like to have a little Ship at my Command; and my Maſter being gone, I prepar'd to furniſh my ſelf, not for a fiſhing Buſineſs, but for a Voyage; tho' I knew not, neither did I ſo much as conſider whither I ſhould ſteer; for any where to get out of that Place was my Way.

My firſt Contrivance was to make a Pretence to ſpeak to this *Moor*, to get ſomething for our Subſiſtence on Board; for I told him we muſt not preſume to eat of our Patron's Bread; he ſaid, that was true; ſo he brought a large Basket of Rusk or Bisket of their kind, and three Jarrs with freſh Water into the Boat; I knew where my Patron's Caſe of Bottles ſtood, which it was evident by the Make were taken out of ſome *Engliſh* Prize; and I convey'd them into the Boat while the *Moor* was on Shore, as if they had been there before, for our Maſter: I convey'd alſo a great Lump of Bees-Wax into the Boat, which weighed above half a hundred Weight, with a Parcel of Twine or Thread, a Hatchet, a Saw, and a Hammer, all which were of great Uſe to us afterwards: eſpecially the Wax to make Candles. Another Trick I try'd upon him, which he innocently came into alſo; his Name was *Iſmael*, who they call *Muly*,

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or *Moely*, so I call'd to him, *Moely* said I, our Patron's Guns are on Board the Boat, can you not get a little Powder and Shot, it may be we may kill some *Alcamies* (a Fowl like our *Culieus*) for our selves, for I know he keeps the Gunner's Stores in the Ship? Yes, says he, I'll bring some, and accordingly he brought a great Leather Pouch which held about a Pound and half of Powder, or rather more; and another with Shot, that had five or six Pound, with some Bullets; and put all into the Boat: At the same time I had found some Powder of my Master's in the great Cabin, with which I fill'd one of the large Bottles in the Case, which was almost empty; pouring what was in it into another: And thus furnished with every thing needful, we sail'd out of the Port to fish: The Castle, which is at the Entrance of the Port, knew who we were, and took no Notice of us; and we were not above a Mile out of the Port before we hal'd in our Sail, and set us down to fish: The Wind blew from the N. NE. which was contrary to my Desire; for had it blown Southerly, I had been sure to have made the Coast of *Spain*, and at least reach'd to the Bay of *Cadiz*; but my Resolutions were, blow which way it would, I would be gone from that horrid Place where I was, and leave the rest to Fate.

After we had fish'd some time and catch'd nothing, for when I had Fish on my Hook, I would not pull them up, that he might not see them; I said to the *Moor*, this will not do, our Master will not be thus serv'd, we must stand farther off: He thinking no Harm agreed, and being in the Head of the Boat set the Sails; and as I had the Helm I run the Boat out near a League farther, and then brought her too as if I would fish, when giving the Boy the Helm, I stept forward to where the *Moor* was, and making as if I stoop'd for some-

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thing behind him; I took him by ſurprize with my Arm under his Twiſt, and toſt him clear o-ver board into the Sea; he riſe immediately, for he ſwam like a Cork, and call'd to me, begg'd to be taken in, told me he would go all over the World with me; he ſwam ſo ſtrong after the Boat that he would have reach'd me very quickly, there being but little Wind; upon which I ſtept into the Cabin, and fetching one of the Fowling-pieces, I preſented it at him, and told him, I had done him no hurt, and if he would be quiet I would do him none: But ſaid I, you ſwim well enough to reach the Shore, and the Sea is calm, make the beſt of your Way to Shore and I will do you no harm, but if you come near the Boat I'll ſhoot you thro' the Head; for I am reſolved to have my Liberty; ſo he turn'd himſelf about and ſwam for the Shore, and I make no doubt but he reach'd it with Eaſe, for he was an excellent Swimmer.

I could have been content to ha' taken this *Moor* with me, and ha' drown'd the Boy, but there was no venturing to truſt him: When he was gone, I turn'd to the Boy, who they call'd *Xury*, and ſaid to him, *Xury*, if you will be faithful to me I'll make you a great Man, but if you will not ſtroak your Face to be true to me, *that is, ſwear by* Mahomet *and his Father's Beard*, I muſt throw you into the Sea too; the Boy ſmil'd in my Face and ſpoke ſo inno-cently that I could not miſtruſt him; and ſwore to be faithful to me, and go all over the World with me.

While I was in View of the *Moor* that was ſwimming, I ſtood out directly to Sea with the Boat, rather ſtretching to Windward, that they might think me gone towards the *Straits*-mouth (as indeed any one that had been in their Wits muſt ha' been ſuppos'd to do) for who would ha' ſuppos'd we were ſail'd

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on to the Southward to the truly *Barbarian* Coaſt; where whole Nations of Negroes were ſure to ſurround us with their Canoes, and deſtroy us; where we could ne'er once gone on Shore but we ſhould be devour'd by ſavage Beaſts or more mercileſs Savages of human kind.

But as ſoon as it grew dusk in the Evening, I chang'd my Courſe, and ſteer'd directly South and by Eaſt, bending my Courſe a little toward the Eaſt, that I might keep in with the Shore; and having a fair freſh Gale of Wind, and ſmooth quiet Sea, I made ſuch Sail that I believe by the next Day at Three a Clock in the Afternoon, when I firſt made the Land, I could not be leſs than 150 Miles South of *Sallee*; quite beyond the Emperor of *Morocco*'s Dominions, or indeed of any other King thereabouts, for we ſaw no People.

Yet ſuch was the Fright I had taken at the *Moors*, and the dreadful Apprehenſions I had of falling into their Hands, that I would not ſtop, or go on Shore, or come to an Anchor; the Wind continuing fair, 'till I had ſail'd in that manner five Days; And then the Wind ſhifting to the Southward; I concluded alſo that if any of our Veſſels were in Chaſe of me, they alſo would now give over; ſo I ventur'd to make to the Coaſt, and came to an Anchor in the Mouth of a little River, I knew not what, or where; neither what Latitude, what Country, what Nation, or what River: I neither ſaw, or deſir'd to ſee any People, the principal thing I wanted was freſh Water: We came into this Creek in the Evening, reſolving to ſwim on Shore as ſoon as it was dark, and diſcover the Country; but as ſoon as it was quite dark, we heard ſuch dreadful Noiſes of the Barking, Roaring, and Howling of wild Creatures of we knew not what Kinds, that the poor Boy was ready to die with Fear,

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Fear and begg'd of me not to go on Shore till Day; well *Xury*, said I, then I won't, but it may be we may see Men by Day, who will be as bad to us as those Lyons; *then we give them the shoot Gun*, says *Xury*, laughing, *make them run way*; such *English Xury* spoke by conversing among us Slaves, however I was glad to see the Boy so cheerful, and I gave him a Dram (out of our Patron's Case of Bottles) to chear him up: After all, *Xury*'s Advice was good, and I took it, we dropp'd our little Anchor and lay still all Night; I say still, for we slept none; for in two or three Hours we saw vast great Creatures (we knew not what to call them) of many sorts, come down to the Sea-shore and run into the Water, wallowing and washing themselves for the Pleasure of cooling themselves: and they made such hideous Howlings and Yellings, that I never indeed heard the like.

Xury was dreadfully frighted, and indeed so was I too; but we were both more frighted when we heard one of these mighty Creatures come swimming towards our Boat, we could not see him, but we might hear him by his blowing to be a monstrous, huge and furious Beast; *Xury* said it was a Lyon, and it might be so for ought I know; but poor *Xury* cried to me to weight the Anchor and row away; no, said I, *Xury*, we can slip our Cable with the Buoy to it and go off to Sea, they cannot follow us far; I had no sooner said so, but I perceiv'd the Creature (whatever it was) within two Oars length, which something surprized me; however I immediately stept to the Cabin-door, and taking up my Gun fir'd at him, upon which he immediately turn'd about and swam towards the Shore again.

But it is impossible to describe the horrible Noises, and hidious Cries and Howlings, that were raised

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raiſed as well upon the Edge of the Shore, as higher within the Country; upon the Noiſe or Report of the Gun, a Thing I have ſome Reaſon to believe thoſe Creatures had never heard before; This convinc'd me that there was no going on Shore for us in the Night upon that Coaſt, and how to venture on Shore in the Day was another Queſtion too; for to have fallen into the Hands of any of the Savages, had been as bad as to have fallen into the Hands of Lyons and Tygers; at leaſt we were equally apprehenſive of the Danger of it.

Be that as it would, we were oblig'd to go on Shore ſomewhere or other for Water, for we had not a Pint left in the Boat; when or where to get to it was the Point: *Xury* ſaid, if I would let him go on Shore with one of the Jars, he would find if there was any Water and bring ſome to me. I ask'd him why he would go? Why I ſhould not go and he ſtay in the Boat? The Boy anſwer'd with ſo much Affection, that made me love him ever after. Says he, *If wild Mans come, they eat me, you go wey.* Well, *Xury*, ſaid I, we will both go, and if the wild Mans come, we will kill them, they ſhall eat neither of us; ſo I gave *Xury* a piece of Rusk-bread to eat, and a Dram out of our Patron's Caſe of Bottles which I mentioned before; and we hal'd the Boat in as near the Shore as we thought was proper, and waded on Shore; carrying nothing but our Arms, and two Jarrs for Water.

I did not care to go out of Sight of the Boat, fearing the coming of Canoes with *Savages* down the River; But the Boy ſeeing a low Place about a Mile up the Country rambled to it; and by and by I ſaw him come running towards me, I thought he was purſued by ſome Savage, or frighted

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frighted with ſome wild Beaſt, and I run forward toward him to help him, but when I came nearer to him, I ſaw ſomething hanging over his Shoulders which was a Creature that he had ſhot, like a Hare but different in Colour, and longer Legs, however we were very glad of it, and it was very good Meat; but the great Joy that poor *Xury* came with, was to tell me he had found good Water and ſeen no wild Mans.

But we found afterwards that we need not take ſuch Pains for Water, for a little higher up the Creek where we where, we found the Water freſh when the Tide was out, which flowed but a little way up; ſo we filled our Jarrs and feaſted on the Hare we had killed, and prepared to go on our Way, having ſeen no Foot-ſteps of any human Creature in that part of the Country.

As I had been one Voyage to this Coaſt before, I knew very well that the Iſlands of the *Canaries*, and the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands alſo, lay not far off from the Coaſt. But as I had no Inſtruments to take an Obſervation to know what Latitude we were in, and not exactly know, or at leaſt to remember what Latitude they were in; I knew not where to look for them, or when to ſtand off to Sea towards them; otherwiſe I might now eaſily have found ſome of theſe Iſlands. But my hopes was, that if I ſtood along this Coaſt till I came to that Part where the *Engliſh* traded, I ſhould find ſome of their Veſſels upon their uſual Deſign of Trade, that would relieve and take us in.

By the beſt of my Calculation, that Place where I now was, muſt be that Country, which lying between the Emperor of *Morocco's* Dominions and the *Negroes*, lies waſt and uninhabited, except by wild Beaſts; the *Negroes* having abandon'd it and gone farther South for fear of the *Moors*; and the *Moors* not

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not thinking it worth inhabiting, by reaſon of its Barrenneſs; and indeed both forſaking it becauſe of the prodigious Numbers of Tygers, Lyons, Leopards, and other furious Creatures which harbour there; ſo that the *Moors* uſe it for their Hunting only, where they go like an Army, two or three thouſand Men at a Time; and indeed for near an hundred Miles together upon this Coaſt, we ſaw nothing but a waſt uninhabited Country, by Day; and heard nothing but Howlings and Roaring of wild Beaſts, by Night.

Once or twice in the Day time, I thought I ſaw the *Pico* of *Teneriffe*, being the high top of the Mountain *Teneriffe* in the *Canaries*; and had a great mind to venture out in hopes of reaching thither; but having tried twice I was forced in again by contrary Winds, the Sea alſo going too high for my little Veſſel, ſo I reſolved to purſue my firſt Deſign and keep along the Shore.

Several times I was obliged to land for freſh Water, after we had left this Place; and once in particular, being early in the Morning, we came to an Anchor under a little Point of Land which was pretty high, and the Tide beginning to flow, we lay ſtill to go farther in; *Xury*, whoſe Eyes were more about him then it ſeems mine were, calls ſoftly to me, and tells me that we had beſt go farther off the Shore; for, ſays he, look yonder lies a dreadful Monſter on the Side of that Hillock faſt aſleep: I look'd where he pointed, and ſaw a dreadful Monſter indeed, for it was a terrible great Lyon that lay on the Side of the Shore, under the Shade of a Piece of the Hill that hung as it were a little over him. *Xury*, ſaid I, you ſhall go on Shore and kill him; *Xury* look'd frighted, and ſaid, *Me kill! he eat me at one Mouth*; one Mouthful he meant; however, I ſaid no more to the Boy, but bad

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bad him lye ſtill, and I took our biggeſt Gun, which was almoſt Musket-bore, and loaded it with a good Charge of Powder, and with two Slugs, and laid it down; then I loaded another Gun with two Bullets, and the third, for we had three Pieces, I loaded with five ſmaller Bullets. I took the beſt Aim I could with the firſt Piece to have ſhot him into the Head, but he lay ſo with his Leg rais'd a little above his Noſe, that the Slugs hit his Leg about the Knee, and broke the Bone. He ſtarted up growling at firſt, but finding his Leg broke fell down again, and then got up upon three Legs, and gave the moſt hideous Roar that ever I heard; I was a little ſurpriz'd that I had not hit him on the Head; however I took up the ſecond Piece immediately, and tho' he began to move off fir'd again, and ſhot him into the Head, and had the Pleaſure to ſee him drop, and make but little Noiſe, but lay ſtruggling for Life. Then *Xury* took Heart, and would have me let him go on Shore: Well, go ſaid I; ſo the Boy jump'd into the Water, and taking a little Gun in one Hand, ſwam to Shore with the other Hand, and coming cloſe to the Creature, put the Muzzle of the Piece to his Ear, and ſhot him into the Head again, which diſpatch'd him quite.

This was Game indeed to us, but this was no Food, and I was very ſorry to loſe three Charges of Powder and Shot upon a Creature that was good for nothing to us. However, *Xury* ſaid, he would have ſome of him; ſo he comes on board, ask'd me to give him the Hatchet; for what, *Xury*, ſaid I? *Me cut off his Head*, ſaid he. However, *Xury* could not cut off his Head, but he cut off a Foot and brought it with him, and it was a monſtrous great one.

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I bethought my self however, that perhaps the Skin of him might one way or other be of some Value to us; and I resolved to take off his Skin if I could. So *Xury* and I went to work with him; but *Xury* was much the better Workman at it, for I knew very ill how to do it. Indeed it took us up both the whole Day, but at last we got off the Hide of him, and spreading it on the top of our Cabin; the Sun effectually dried it in two Days time, and it afterwards serv'd me to lye upon.

After this Stop we made on to the Southward continually for ten or twelve Days, living very sparing on our Provisions, which began to abate very much, and going no oftner into the Shore than we were oblig'd to for fresh Water; my Design in this was to make the River *Gambia* or *Senegall*, that is to say, any where about the *Cape de Verd*, where I was in hopes to meet with some *European* Ship, and if I did not, I knew not what Course I had to take, but to seek for the *Islands*, or perish there, among the *Negroes*. I knew that all the Ships from *Europe*, which sail'd either to the Coast of *Guiney*, or to *Brasil*, or to the *East Indies*, made this *Cape*, or those *Islands*; and in a word, I put the whole of my Fortune upon this single Point, either that I must meet with some Ship, or must perish.

When I had pursued this Resolution about ten Days longer, as I have said, I began to see that the Land was inhabited, and in two or three Places as we sailed by, we saw People stand upon the Shore to look at us, we could also perceive they were quite Black and Stark-naked. I was once inclin'd to have gone on Shore to them; but *Xury* was my better Counsellor, and said to me, *no go, no go*; however I hawl'd in nearer the Shore that I might talk to them, and I found they ran along the Shore by me a good way; I observ'd they had

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no Weapons in their Hands, except one who had a long ſlender Stick, which *Xury* ſaid was a Lance, and that they would throw them a great way with good Aim; ſo I kept at a diſtance, but talk'd with them by Signs as well as I could; and particularly, made Signs for ſomething to eat, they beckon'd to me to ſtop my Boat, and they would fetch me ſome Meat; upon this I lower'd the top of my Sail, and lay by, and two of them run up into the Country, and in leſs than half an Hour came back, and brought with them two Pieces of dry Fleſh and ſome Corn, ſuch as is the Produce of their Country; but we neither knew what the one or the other was; however we were willing to accept it, but how to come at it was our next Diſpute, for I was not for venturing on Shore to them, and they were as much affraid of us; but they took a ſafe way for us all, for they brought it to the Shore and laid it down, and went ſtood a great way off till we fetch'd it on Board, and then came cloſe to us again.

We made Signs of Thanks to them, for we had nothing to make them amends; but an Opportunity offer'd that every Inſtant to oblige them wonderfully, for while we were lying by the Shore, came two mighty Creatures, one purſuing the other, (as we took it) with great Fury, from the Mountains towards the Sea; whether it was the Male purſuing the Female, or whether they were in Sport or in Rage, we could not tell, any more than we could tell whether it was uſual or ſtrange, but I believe it was the latter; becauſe in the firſt Place, thoſe ravenous Creatures ſeldom appear but in the Night; and in the ſecond Place, we found the People terribly frighted, eſpecially the Women. The Man that had the Lance or Dart did not fly from them, but the reſt did; however as the two Creatures

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ran directly into the Water, they did not seem to offer to fall upon any of the *Negroes*, but plung'd themselves into the Sea and swam about as if they had come for their Diversion; at last one of them began to come nearer our Boat than at first I expected, but I lay ready for him, for I had loaded my Gun with all possible Expedition, and had *Xury* load both the other; as soon as he came fairly within my reach, I fir'd, and shot him directly into the Head; immediately he sunk down into the Water, but rose instantly and plung'd up and down as if he was struggling for Life; and so indeed he was, he immediately made to the Shore, but between the Wound which was his mortal Hurt, and the strangling of the Water, he dyed just before he reach'd the Shore.

It is impossible to express the Astonishment of these poor Creatures at the Noise and the Fire of my Gun; some of them were even ready to dye for Fear, and fell down as Dead with the very Terror. But when they saw the Creature dead and sunk in the Water, and that I made Signs to them to come to the Shore; they took Heart and came to the Shore and began to search for the Creature, I found him by his Blood staining the Water, and by the help of a Rope which I slung round him and gave the *Negroes* to hawl, they drag'd him on Shore, and found that it was a most curious Leopard, spotted and fine to an admirable Degree, and the *Negroes* held up their Hands with Admiration to think what it was I had kill'd him with.

The other Creature frighted with the flash of Fire and the Noise of the Gun swam on Shore, and ran up directly to the Mountains from whence they came, nor could I at that Distance know what it was. I found quickly the *Negroes* were for eating the Flesh of this Creature, so I was willing

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ling to have them take it as a Favour from me, which when I made Signs to them that they might take him, they were very thankful for, immediately they fell to work with him, and tho' they had no Knife, yet with a sharpen'd piece of Wood they took off his Skin as readily, and much more readily than we cou'd have done with a Knife; they offer'd me some of the Flesh, which I declined, making as if I would give it them, but made Signs for the Skin, which they gave me very freely, and brought me a great deal more of their Provision, which tho' I did not understand, yet I accepted; then I made Signs to them for some Water, and held out one of my Jarrs to them, turning it Bottom upward, to shew that it was empty, and that I wanted to have it filled. They call'd immediately to some of their Friends, and there came two Women and brought a great Vessel made of Earth, and burnt, as I suppose in the Sun; this they set down for me, as before, and I sent *Xury* on Shore with my Jarrs, and filled them all three. The Women were as stark naked as the Men.

I was now furnished with Roots and Corn, such as it was, and Water, and leaving my friendly *Negroes*, I made forward for about eleven Days more, without offering to go near the Shore, till I saw the Land run out a great Length into the Sea, at about the Distance of four or five Leagues before me, and the Sea being very calm, I kept a large offing to make this Point; at length, doubling the Point at about two Leagues from the Land, I saw plainly Land on the other Side to Seaward; then I concluded, as it was most certain indeed, that this was the *Cape de Verd*, and those the *Islands*, call'd from thence *Cape de Verd Islands*. However, they were at a great Distance, and I could not well tell what I had best to do, for if I

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ſhould be taken with a Freſh of Wind I might neither reach one or other.

In this Dilemna, as I was very penſive, I ſlept into the Cabin, and ſat me down, *Xury* having the Helm, when on a ſudden the Boy cry'd out *Maſter, Maſter, a Ship with a Sail,* and the fooliſh Boy was frighted out of his Wits, thinking it muſt needs be ſome of his Maſter's Ships ſent to purſue us, when, I knew we were gotten far enough out of their reach. I jump'd out of the Cabin, and immediately ſaw not only the Ship, but what ſhe was, (*viz.*) that it was a *Portugueſe* Ship, and as I thought was bound to the Coaſt of *Guinea* for *Negroes*. But when I obſerv'd the Courſe ſhe ſteer'd, I was ſoon convinc'd they were bound ſome other way, and did not deſign to come any nearer to the Shore; upon which I ſtretch'd out to Sea as much as I could, reſolving to ſpeak with them if poſſible.

With all the Sail I could make I found I ſhould not be able to come in their Way, but that they ſhould be gone by, before I could make any Signal to them; but after I had crowded to the utmoſt, and began to deſpair, they it ſeems ſaw me by the help of their Perſpective-Glaſſes, and that it was ſome *European* Boat, which as they ſuppoſed muſt belong to ſome Ship that was loſt, ſo they ſhortned Sail to let me come up. I was encouraged with this, and as I had my Patron's Antient on Board, I made a Waft of it to them for a Signal of Diſtreſs, and fir'd a Gun, both which they ſaw, for they told me they ſaw the Smoke, tho' they did not hear the Gun; upon theſe Signals they very kindly brought too, and lay by for me, and in about three Hours time I came up with them.

They ask'd me what I was, in *Portugueſe*, and in *Spaniſh*, and in *French*, but I underſtood none of them;

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them; but at last a *Scots* Sailor who was on board, call'd to me, and I answer'd him, and told him I was an *English* Man, that I had made my escape out of Slavery from the *Moors* at *Sallee*; then they bad me come on board, and very kindly took me in, and all my Goods.

It was an inexpressible Joy to me, *that any one will believe*, than I was thus deliver'd, as I esteem'd it, from such a miserable and almost hopeless Condition as I was in, and I immediately offered all I had to the Captain of the Ship, as a Return for my Deliverance; but he generously told me, he would take nothing from me, but that all I had should be deliver'd safe to me when I came to the *Brasils*; for, says he, *I have sav'd your Life on no other Terms than I would be glad to be saved my self, and it may one time, or other be my Lot to be taken up in the same Condition*; *besides*, said he, *when I carry you to the Brasils, so great a way from your own Country, if I should take from you what you have, you will be starved there, and then I only take away that Life I have given. No, no, Seignior*, Inglese, says he, *Mr.* Englishman, *I will carry you thither in Charity, and those things will help you to buy your Subsistance there, and your Passage home again.*

As he was Charitable in his Proposal, so he was just in the Performance to a tittle; for he ordered the Seamen, that none should offer to touch any thing I had; then he took every thing into his own Possession, and gave me back an exact Inventory of them, that I might have them; even so much as my three Earthen Jarrs.

As to my Boat it was a very good one, and that he saw, and told me he would buy it of me for the Ship's Use, and ask'd me what I would have for it? I told him he had been so generous to me in every thing, that I could not offer to make a-

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ly Price of the Boat, but left it entirely to him, upon which he told me he would give me a Note of his Hand to pay me 80 Pieces of Eight for it at *Brasil*, and when it came there, if any one offer'd to give more he would make it up; he offer'd me also 60 Pieces of Eight more for my Boy *Xury*, which I was loath to take, not that I was not willing to let the Captain have him, but I was very loath to sell the poor Boy's Liberty, who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own. However when I let him know my Reason, he own'd it to be just, and offer'd me this Medium, that he would give the Boy an Obligation to set him free in ten Years, if he turn'd Christian; upon this, and *Xury* saying he was willing to go to him, I let the Captain have him.

We had a very good Voyage to the *Brasils*, and arriv'd in the *Bay de Todos los Santos*, or *All-Saints-Bay*, in about 22 Days after. And now I was once more deliver'd from the most miserable of all Conditions of Life, and what to do next with my self, I was now to consider.

The generous Treatment the Captain gave me, I can never enough remember; he would take nothing of me for my Passage, gave me 20 Ducats for the Leopard's Skin, and 40 for the Lyon's Skin which I had in my Boat, and caused every Thing I had in the Ship to be punctually deliver'd me, and what I was willing to sell he bought, such as the Case of Bottles, two of my Guns, and a Piece of the Lump of Bees-wax, for I had made Candles of the rest; in a word, I made about 220 Pieces of Eight of all my Cargo, and with this Stock I went on Shore in the *Brasils*.

I had not been long here, but being recommended to the House of a good honest Man like himself, who had an *Ingenio* as they call it; that is, a Plan-

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Plantation, and a Sugar-House. I liv'd with him some Time, and acquainted myself by that Means with the Manner of their planting and making of Sugar; and seeing how well the Planters liv'd, and how they grew rich suddenly, I resolv'd, if I could get Licence, to settle there, I would turn Planter among them, resolving in the mean time to find out some way to get my Money, which I left in *London*, remitted to me. To this Purpose, getting a kind of a Letter of Naturalization, I purchased as much Land that was uncur'd, as my Money would reach, and form'd a Plan for my Plantation and Settlement, and such a one as might be suitable to the Stock, which I propos'd to myself to receive from *England*.

I had a Neighbour, a *Portuguese* of *Lisbon*, but born of *English* Parents, whose Name was *Wells*, and in much such Circumstances as I was. I call him my Neighbour, because his Plantation lay next to mine, and we went on very sociably together. My Stock was but low as well as his; and we rather planted for Food than any Thing else, for about two Years. However, we began to encrease, and our Land began to come into Order; so that the third Year we planted some Tobacco, and made each of us a large Piece of Ground ready for planting Canes in the Year to come; but we both wanted Help; and now I found more than before, I had done wrong in parting with my Boy *Xury*.

But alas! for me to do wrong that never did right, was no great Wonder: I had no Remedy but to go on; I was gotten into an Imployment quite remote to my Genius, and directly contrary to the Life I delighted in, and for which I forsook my Father's House, and broke thro' all his good Advice; nay, I was coming into the very middle Station, or upper Degree of low Life, which my Father Advised me to before; and which, if I resolv'd to go on

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with, I might as well ha' ſtaid at Home, and never have fatigu'd my ſelf in the World as I had done; and I uſed often to ſay to my ſelf, I could ha' done this as well in *England* among my Friends, as ha' gone 5000 Miles off to do it among Strangers and Savages in a Wilderneſs, and at ſuch a Diſtance, as never to hear from any Part of the World that had the leaſt Knowledge of me.

In this manner I uſed to look upon my Condition with the utmoſt Regret. I had no Body to converſe with, but now and then this Neighbour; no Work to be done, but by the Labour of my Hands; and I uſed to ſay, I liv'd juſt like a Man caſt away upon ſome deſolate Iſland, that had no Body there but himſelf. But how juſt has it been, and how ſhould all Men reflect, that, when they compare their preſent Conditions with others that are worſe, Heaven may oblige them to make the Exchange, and be convinc'd of their former Felicity, by their Experience; I ſay, how juſt has it been, that the truly ſolitary Life I reflected on in an Iſland of meer Deſolation ſhould be my Lot, who had ſo often unjuſtly compar'd it with the Life which I then led, in which had I continued, I had in all Probability been exceeding proſperous and rich.

I was in ſome Degree ſettled in my Meaſures for carrying on the Plantation, before my kind Friend the Captain of the Ship, that took me up at Sea, went back; for the Ship remained there in providing his Loading, and preparing for his Voyage, near three Months, when telling him what little Stock I had left behind me in *London*, he gave me this friendly and ſincere Advice, *Seignor Ingleſe*, ſays he, for ſo he always called me, if you will give me Letters, and a Procuration here in Form to me, with Orders to the Perſon who has your Money in *London*, to ſend your Effects to *Lisbon*, to ſuch Perſons as I ſhall direct,

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rest, and in such Goods as are proper for this Country, I will bring you the Produce of them, God willing, at my Return; but since human Affairs are all subject to Changes and Disasters, I would have you give Orders but for 100 *l. Sterl.* which you say is half your Stock, and let the Hazard be run for the first; so that if it come safe, you may order the rest the same Way; and if it miscarry, you may have the other Half to have Recourse to for your Supply.

This was so wholesome Advice, and look'd so friendly, that I could not but be convinc'd it was the best Course I could take; so I accordingly prepared Letters to the Gentlewoman, with whom I had left my Money, and a Procuration to he *Portuguese* Captain, as he desir'd.

I wrote the *English* Captain's Widow a full Account of all my Adventures, my Slavery, Escape, and how I had met with the *Portugal* Captain at Sea, the Humanity of his Behaviour, and in what Condition I was now in, with all other necessary Directions for my Supply; and when this honest Captain came to *Lisbon*, he found means by some of the *English* Merchants there, to send over not the Order only, but a full Account of my Story to a Merchant at *London*, who represented it effectually to her; whereupon, she not only delivered the Money, but out of her own Pocket sent the *Portugal* Captain a very handsome Present for his Humanity and Charity to me.

The Merchant in *London* vesting this 100 *l.* in *English* Goods, such as the Captain had writ for, sent them directly to him at *Lisbon*, and he brought them all safe to me to the *Brasils*, among which, without my Direction (for I was too young in my Business to think of them) he had taken Care to have all sorts of Tools, Iron-Work, and Utensils

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his necessary for my Plantation, and which were of great Use to me.

When this Cargo arrived, I thought my Fortune made, for I was surprized with Joy of it; and my good Steward the Captain had laid out the five Pounds which my Friend had sent him for a Present for himself, to purchase, and bring me over a Servant under Bond for six Years Service, and would not accept of any Consideration, except a little Tobacco, which I would have him accept, being of my own Produce.

Neither was this all; but my Goods being all *English* Manufactures, such as Cloath, Stuffs, Bays, and Things particularly valuable and desirable in the Country, I found Means to sell them to a very great Advantage; so that I may say, I had more than four times the Value of my first Cargo, and was now infinitly beyond my poor Neighbour, I mean in the Advancement of my Plantation; for the first thing I did, I bought me a *Negroe* Slave, and an *European* Servant also; I mean another besides that which the Captain brought me from *Lisbon*.

But as abus'd Prosperity is oftentimes made the very Means of our greatest Adversity, so was it with me. I went on the next Year with great Success in my Plantation: I raised fifty great Rolls of Tobacco on my own Ground, more than I had disposed of for Necessaries among my Neighbours; and these fifty Rolls being each of above a 100 *Wt.* were well cur'd and laid by against the Return of the Fleet from *Lisbon*: And now increasing in Business and in Wealth, my Head began to be full of Projects and Undertakings beyond my Reach; such as are indeed often the Ruin of the best Heads in Business.

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Had I continued in the Station I was now in, I had room for all the happy Things to have yet befallen me, for which my Father so earnestly recommended a quiet retired Life, and of which he had so sensibly described the middle Station of Life to be full of; but other Things attended me, and I was still to be the wilful Agent of all my own Miseries; and particularly to encrease my Fame, and double the Reflections upon my self, which in my future Sorrows I should have Leisure to make; all these Miscarriages were procured by my apparent obstinate adhering to my foolish Inclination, of wandring Abroad, and pursuing that Inclination, in Contradiction to the clearest Views of doing my self good, in a fair and plain Pursuit of those Prospects, and those Measures of Life, which Nature and Providence concurred to present me with, and to make my Duty.

As I had once done thus in my breaking away from my Parents, so I could not be content now, but I must go and leave the happy View I had of being a rich and thriving Man in my new Plantation, only to pursue a rash and immoderate Desire of rising faster than the Nature of the Thing admitted; and thus I cast my self down again into the deepest Gulph of human Misery that ever Man fell into, or perhaps could be consistent with Life and a State of Health in the World.

To come then by just Degrees, to the Particulars of this Part of my Story; you may suppose, that having now lived almost four Years in the *Brasils*, and beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my Plantation; I had not only learn'd the Language, but had contracted Acquaintance and Friendship among my Fellow-Planters, as well as among the Merchants at St. *Salvadore*, which was our Port; and that in my Discourses among them,

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them, I had frequently given them an Account of my two Voyages to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, the manner of Trading with the *Negroes* there, and how eaſy it was to purchaſe upon the Coaſt, for Trifles, ſuch as Beads, Toys, Knives, Sciſſars, Hatchets, Bits of Glaſs, and the like; not only Gold Duſt, *Guinea* Grains, Elephants Teeth, &c. but *Negroes* for the Service of the *Braſils*, in great Numbers.

They liſtened always very attentively to my Diſcourſes on theſe Heads, but eſpecially to that Part which related to the buying *Negroes*, which was a Trade at that Time not only not far entred into, but as far as it was, had been carry'd on by the Aſſiento's, or Permiſſion of the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and engroſs'd in the Publick, ſo that few *Negroes* were brought, and thoſe exceſſive dear.

It happen'd, being in Company with ſome Merchants and Planters of my Acquaintaince, and talking of thoſe Things very earneſtly, three of them came to me the next Morning, and told me they had been muſing very much upon what I had diſcourſed with them of, the laſt Night, and they came to make a ſecret Propoſal to me; and after enjoining me Secrecy, they told me, that they had a mind to fit out a Ship to go to *Guinea*, that they had all Plantations as well as I, and were ſtraiten'd for nothing ſo much as Servants; that as it was a Trade that could not be carry'd on, becauſe they could not publickly ſell the *Negroes* when they came Home, ſo they deſir'd to make but one Voyage, to bring the *Negroes* on Shore privately, and divide them among their own Plantations; and in a word, the Queſtion was, whether I would go their Super-Cargo in the Ship to manage the Trading Part upon the Coaſt

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of *Guiney*? And they offer'd me that I should have my equal Share of the *Negroes*, without providing any Part of the Stock.

This was a fair Proposal, it must be confess'd, had it been made to any one that had not had a Settlement and Plantation of his own to look after, which was in a fair Way of coming to be very considerable, and with a good Stock upon it. But for me that was thus entered and establish'd, and had nothing to do but go on as I had begun for three or four Years more, and to have sent for the other hundred Pound from *England*, and who in that time, and with that little Addition, could scarce ha' fail'd of being worth three or four thousand Pounds Sterling, and that encreasing too; for me to think of such a Voyage, was the most preposterous Thing that ever Man in such Circumstances could be guilty of.

But I that was born to be my own Destroyer, could no more resist the Offer than I could restrain my first rambling Designs, when my Father's good Counsel was lost upon me. In a word, I told them I would go with all my Heart, if they would undertake to look after my Plantation in my Absence, and would dispose of it to such as I should direct, if I miscarry'd. This they all engag'd to do, and entred into Writings or Covenants to do so; and I made a formal Will, disposing of my Plantation and Effects, in Case of my Death, making the Captain of the Ship that had sav'd my Life, as before, my universal Heir, but obliging him to dispose of my Effects, as I had directed in my Will, one half of the Produce being to himself, and the other to be shipp'd to *England*.

In short, I took all possible Caution to preserve my Effects and keep up my Plantation; had I us'd half as much Prudence to have look'd into my

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own Interest, and have made a Judgment of what I ought to have done, and not to have done, I had certainly never gone away from so prosperous an Undertaking, leaving all the probable Views of a thriving Circumstance, and gone upon a Voyage to Sea, attended with all its common Hazards; to say nothing of the Reasons I had to expect particular Misfortunes to my self.

But I was hurry'd on, and obey'd blindly the Dictates of my Fancy rather than my Reason; and accordingly the Ship being fitted out, and the Cargo furnished, and all Things done as by Agreement, by my Partners in the Voyage, I went on Board in an evil Hour again, the first of *September*, 1659, being the same Day eight Year that I went from my Father and Mother at *Hull*, in order to act the Rebel to their Authority, and the Fool to my own Interest.

Our Ship was about 120 Tun Burthen, carried six Guns, and fourteen Men, including the Master, his Boy, and my self; we had on Board no large Cargo of Goods, except of such Toys as were fit for our Trade with the Negroes, such as Beads, bits of Glass, Shells, and odd Trifles, especially little Looking-Glasses, Knives, Scissars, Hatchets, and the like.

The same Day I went on Board we set sail, standing away to the Northward upon our own Coast, with Design to stretch over for the *African* Coast, when they came about 10 or 12 Degrees of Northern Latitude, which it seems was the manner of their Course in those Days. We had very good Weather, only excessive hot, all the way upon our own Coast, till we came the Height of *Cape St. Augustino*, from whence keeping farther off at Sea we lost Sight of Land, and steer'd as if we was bound for the Isle *Fernand de Noronha*, holding our

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our Course N. E. by N. and leaving those Isles on the East; in this Course we past the Line in about 12 Days time, and were by our last Observation in 7 Degrees 22 Min. Northern Latitude, when a violent Tournado or Hurricane took us quite out of our Knowledge; it began from the South-East, came about to the North-West, and then settled into the North-East, from whence it blew in such a terrible manner, that for 12 Days together we could do nothing but drive, and scudding away before it, let it carry us whither ever Fate and the Fury of the Winds directed; and during these 12 Days, I need not say, that I expected every Day to be swallowed up, nor indeed did any in the Ship expect to save their Lives.

In this Distress, we had, besides the Terror of the Storm, one of our Men die of the Calenture, and one Man and the Boy wash'd over-board; about the twelfth Day the Weather abating a little, the Master made an Observation as well as he could, and found that he was in about eleven Degrees North Latitude, but that he was twenty two Degrees of Longitude difference West from *Cape St. Augustino*; so that he found he was gotten upon the Coast of *Guiana*, or the North Part of *Brasil*, beyond the River *Amozones*, toward that of the River *Oroonoque*, commonly call'd the *Great River*, and began to consult with me what Course he should take, for the Ship was leaky and very much disabled, and he was going directly back to the Coast of *Brasil*.

I was positively against that, and looking over the Charts of the Sea-Coast of *America* with him, we concluded there was no inhabited Country for us to have recourse to, till we came within the Circle of the *Carribbe-Islands*, and therefore resolved to stand away for *Barbadoes*, which by keeping off

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at Sea, to avoid the Indraft of the Bay of Guinea of *Mexico*, we might easily perform, as we hoped, in about 15 Days Sail; whereas we could not possibly make our Voyage to the Coast of *Africa*, without some Assistance, both to our Ship and to our selves.

With this Design we chang'd our Course, and steer'd away *N. W.* by *W.* in order to reach some of our *English* Islands, where I hoped for Relief; but our Voyage was otherwise determined, for being in the Latitude of 12 Deg. 18 Min. a second Storm came upon us, which carry'd us away with the same Impetuosity Westward, and drove us so out of the very Way of all humane Commerce, that had our Lives been saved, as to the Sea, we were rather in Danger of being devour'd by Savages than ever returning to our own Country.

In this Distress, the Wind blowing still very hard, one of our Men early in the Morning, cry'd out, *Land*; and we had no sooner run out of the Cabin to look out, in hopes of seeing whereabouts in the World we were; but the Ship struck upon a Sand, and in a Moment her Motion being so stopp'd, the Sea broke over her in such a manner, that we expected we should all have perish'd immediately, and we were immediately driven into close Quarters to shelter us from the very Foam and Sprye of the Sea.

It is not easy for any one, who has not been in the like Condition, to describe or conceive the Consternation of Men in such Circumstances; we knew nothing where we were, or upon what Land it was we were driven, whether an Island, or the Main; whether inhabited, or not inhabited; and as the Rage of the Wind was still great, tho rather less than at first, we could not so much as

hope

hope to have the Ship hold many Minutes without breaking in Pieces, unless the Winds by a kind of Miracle should turn immediately about. In a word, we sat looking one upon another, and expecting Death every Moment, and every Man acting accordingly, as preparing for another World; for there was little or nothing more for us to do in this: That which was our present Comfort, and all the Comfort we had, was, That contrary to our Expectation the Ship did not break yet, and that the Master said, the Wind began to abate.

Now tho' we thought that the Wind did a little abate, yet the Ship having thus struck upon the Sand, and sticking too fast for us to expect her getting off, we were in a dreadful Condition indeed, and had nothing to do but to think of saving our Lives as well as we could; we had a Boat at our Stern, just before the Storm, but she was first stav'd by dashing against the Ship's Rudder, and in the next Place she broke away, and either sunk or was driven off to Sea; so there was no Hope from her: We had another Boat on Board, but how to get her off into the Sea, was a doubtful Thing; however, there was no room to debate, for we fancy'd the Ship would break in Pieces every Minute; and some told us she was actually broken already.

In this Distress, the Mate of our Vessel lays hold of the Boat, and with the Help of the rest of the Men, they got her flung over the Ship's side, and getting all into her, let go, and committed ourselves, being Eleven in Number, to God's Mercy, and the wild Sea; for tho' the Storm was abated considerably, yet the Sea went dreadful high upon the Shore, and might well be call'd, *Den wild Zee*, as the *Dutch* call the Sea in a Storm.

And now our Case was very dismal indeed; for we all saw plainly, that the Sea went so high, that the Boat could not live, and that we should be inevitably drown'd. As to making Sail, we had none, nor, if we had, could we have done any thing with it; so we work'd at the Oar towards the Land, tho' with heavy Hearts, like Men going to Execution; for we all knew, that when the Boat came near the Shore, she would be dash'd in a thousand Pieces by the Breach of the Sea. However we committed our Souls to God in the most earnest manner, and the Wind driving us towards the Shore, we hasten'd our Destruction with our own Hands, pulling as well as we could towards Land.

What the Shore was, whether Rock or Sand, whether Steep or Shoal, we knew not; the only Hope that could in Reason give us the least Shadow of Expectation, was, if we might happen into some Bay or Gulph, or the Mouth of some River, where by great Chance we might have run our Boat in, or got under the Lee of the Land, and perhaps made smooth Water. But there was nothing of this appeared; but as we made nearer and nearer the Shore, the Land look'd more frightful than the Sea.

After we had row'd, or rather driven about a League and a Half, as we reckon'd it, a raging Wave, Mountain-like, came rowling a-stern of us, and plainly bad us expect the *Coup de Grace*. In a word, it took us with such a Fury, that it overset the Boat at once; and separating us as well from the Boat, as from one another, gave us not Time hardly to say, O God! for we are all swallowed up in a Moment.

No Words can describe the Confusion of Thought which I felt, when I sunk into the Water; for tho' I swam very well, yet I could not deliver myself from the Waves, so as to draw Breath, till the Wave having

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having driven me, or rather carried me a vast Way on towards the Shore, and having spent it self, went back, and left me upon the Land almost dry, but half dead with the Water I took in. I had so much Presence of Mind as well as Breath left, that seeing my self nearer the main Land than I expected, I got upon my Feet, and endeavoured to make on towards the Land as fast as I could, before another Wave should return, and take me up again. But I soon found it was impossible to avoid it; for I saw the Sea come after me as high as a great Hill, and as furious as an Enemy which I had no Means or Strength to contend with. My Business was to hold my Breath, and rise my self upon the Water, if I could; and so by swimming to preserve my Breathing, and Pilot my self towards the Shore, if possible; my greatest Concern now being, that the Sea, as it would carry me a great Way towards the Shore when it came on, might not carry me back again with it when it gave back towards the Sea.

The Wave that came upon me again, buried me at least fifteen Foot deep in its own Body; and I could feel my self carried with a mighty Force and Swiftness towards the Shore a very great Way; but I held my Breath, and assisted my self to swim still forwards with all my Might. I was ready to burst with holding my Breath, when, as I felt my self rising up, so to my immediate Relief, I found my Head and Hands shoot out above the Surface of the Water. And though it was not two Seconds of Time that I could keep my self so, yet it reliev'd me greatly, gave me Breath and new Courage. I was cover'd again with Water a good while, but not so long but I held it out; and finding the Water had spent it self, and began to return, I struck forward against the Return of the Waves, and felt Ground again with my Feet. I stood still a few

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Moments to recover Breath, and 'till the Water went from me, and then took to my Heels, and run with what Strength I had, farther towards the Shore: But neither would this deliver me from the Fury of the Sea, which came pouring in after me again, and twice more I was lifted up by the Waves, and carry'd forwards as before, the Shore being very flat.

The last Time of these two had well near been fatal to me; for the Sea having hurry'd me along as before, landed me, or rather dash'd me against a Piece of a Rock; and that with such Force, as is left me senseless, and indeed helpless, as to my own Deliverance; for the Blow taking my Side and Breast, beat the Breath, as it were, quite out of my Body; and had it return'd again immediately, I must have been strangled in the Water; but I recover'd a little before the Return of the Waves; and seeing I should be cover'd again with the Water, I resolv'd to hold fast by a Piece of the Rock, and so to hold my Breath, if possible, 'till the Wave went back; now as the Waves were not so high as at first, being near Land, I held my Hold 'till the Wave abated, and then fetch'd another Run, which brought me so near the Shore, that the next Wave, tho' it went over me, yet did not so swallow me up as to carry me away, and the next Run I took, I got to the main Land, where, to my great Comfort, I clamber'd up the Cliffs of the Shore, and sat me down upon the Grass, free from Danger, and quite out of the Reach of the Water.

I was now landed, and safe on Shore, and began to look up and thank God that my Life was sav'd in a Case wherein there was some Minutes before scarce any room to hope. I believe it is impossible to express to the Life what the Extasies and Transports of the

the Soul are, when it is ſo ſav'd, as I may ſay, out of the very Grave; and I do not wonder now at that Cuſtom, *viz.* That when a Malefactor, who has the Halter about his Neck, is ty'd up, and juſt going to be turn'd off, and has a Reprieve brought to him; I ſay, I do not wonder that they bring a Surgeon with it, to let him Blood that very Moment they tell him of it, that the Surprize may not drive the Animal Spirits from the Heart, and overwhelm him.

For ſudden Joys, like Griefs, confound at firſt.

I walk'd about on the Shore, lifting up my Hands and my whole Being, as I may ſay, wrapt up in the Contemplation of my Deliverance, making a thouſand Geſtures and Motions which I cannot deſcribe, reflecting upon all my Comrades that were drown'd, and that there ſhould not be one Soul ſav'd but my ſelf; for, as for them, I never ſaw them afterwards, or any Sign of them, except three of their Hats, one Cap, and two Shoes that were not Fellows.

I caſt my Eyes to the ſtranded Veſſel, when the Breach and Froth of the Sea being ſo big, I could hardly ſee it, it lay ſo far off, and conſider'd, Lord! how was it poſſible I could get on Shore!

After I had ſolac'd my Mind with the comfortable Part of my Condition, I began to look round me to ſee what kind of Place I was in, and what was next to be done, and I ſoon found my Comforts abate; and that, in a word, I had a dreadful Deliverance: For I was wet, had no Cloaths to ſhift me, nor any thing either to eat or drink to comfort me, neither did I ſee any Proſpect before me, but that of periſhing with Hunger, or being devour'd by wild Beaſts; and that which was particularly afflicting to me, was, that I had no Weapon either to hunt

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and kill any Creature for my Sustenance, or to defend my self against any other Creature that might desire to kill me for their's: In a word, I had nothing about me but a Knife, a Tobacco-pipe, and a little Tobacco in a Box; this was all my Provision, and this threw me into terrible Agonies of Mind, that for a while I run about like a Mad-man. Night coming upon me, I began with a heavy Heart to consider what would be my Lot if there were any ravenous Beasts in that Country, seeing at Night they always come abroad for their Prey.

All the Remedy that offer'd to my Thoughts at that Time, was, to get up into a thick bushy Tree like a Fir, but thorny, which grew near me, and where I resolv'd to sit all Night, and consider the next Day what Death I should die, for as yet I saw no Prospect of Life; I walk'd about a Furlong from the Shore, to see if I could find any fresh Water to drink, which I did, to my great Joy; and having drank, and put a little Tobacco in my Mouth to prevent Hunger, I went to the Tree, and getting up into it, endeavour'd to place my self so, as that if I should sleep, I might not fall; and having cut me a short Stick, like a Truncheon, for my Defence, I took up my Lodging, and having been excessively fatigu'd, I fell fast asleep, and slept as comfortably as, I believe, few could have done in my Condition, and found my self the most refresh'd with it, that I think I ever was on such an Occasion.

When I wak'd, it was broad Day, the Weather clear, and the Storm abated, so that the Sea did not rage and swell as before: But that which surprized me most, was, that the Ship was lifted off in the Night from the Sand where she lay, by the Swelling of the Tide, and was driven up almost as far as the Rock, which I first mention'd, where

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where I had been so bruis'd by the dashing me against it, this being within about a Mile from the Shore where I was, and the Ship seeming to stand upright still, I wish'd my self on Board, that at least, I might save some necessary Things for my Use.

When I came down from my Appartment in the Tree, I look'd about me again, and the first Thing I found was the Boat, which lay as the Wind and the Sea had toss'd her up upon the Land, about two Miles on my Right Hand. I walk'd as far as I could upon the Shore to have got to her, but found a Neck or Inlet of Water between me and the Boat, which was about half a Mile Broad, so I came back for the present, being more intent upon getting at the Ship, where I hop'd to find some thing for my present Subsistence.

A little after Noon I found the Sea very calm, and the Tide ebb'd so far out, that I could come within a quarter of a Mile of the Ship; and here I found a fresh renewing of my Grief, for I saw evidently that if we had kept on Board, we had been all safe, that is to say, we had all got safe on Shore, and I had not been so miserable as to be left entirely destitute of all Comfort and Company, as now I was; this forced Tears from my Eyes again, but as there was little Relief in that, I resolv'd, if possible, to get to the Ship, so I pull'd off my Cloaths, for the Weather was hot to Extremity, and took the Water; but when I came to the Ship, my Difficulty was still greater to know how to get on Board, for as she lay a-ground, and high out of the Water, there was nothing within my Reach to lay hold of. I swam round her twice, and the second Time I spy'd a small Piece of a Rope, which I wonder I did not see at first, hang down by the Fore-Chains so low,

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so that with great Difficulty I got hold of it, and by the help of that Rope, got up into the Fore-castle of the Ship, here I found that the Ship was bulg'd, and had a great deal of Water in her Hold, but that she lay so on the Side of a Bank of hard Sand, or rather Earth, and her Stern lay lifted up upon the Bank, and her Head low almost to the Water; by this Means all her Quarter was free; and all that was in that Part was dry; for you may be sure my first Work was to search and to see what was spoil'd, and what was free; and first, I found that all the Ship's Provisions were dry and untouch'd by the Water, and being very well dispos'd to eat, I went to the Bread-Room and fill'd my Pockets with Biskit, and eat it as I went about other Things, for I had no time to lose: I also found some Rum in the great Cabin, of which I took a large Dram, and which I had indeed need enough of to spirit me for what was before me: Now I wanted nothing but a Boat to furnish my self with many Things which I foresaw would be very necessary to me.

It was in vain to sit still and wish for what was not to be had, and this Extremity rouz'd my Application; we had several spare Yards, and two or three large Sparrs of Wood, and a spare Top-mast or two in the Ship; I resolv'd to fall to work with these, and flung as many of them over Board, as I could manage for their Weight, tying every one with a Rope, that they might not drive away; when this was done I went down the Ship's Side, and pulling them to me, I ty'd four of them fast together at both Ends as well as I could, in the Form of a Raft, and laying two or three short Pieces of Plank upon them cross-ways, I found I could walk upon it very well,

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hard, but that it was not able to bear any great Weight, the Pieces being too light; so I went to work, and with the Carpenter's Saw I cut a spare Top-mast into three Lengths, and added them to my Raft, with a great deal of Labour and Pains, but hope of furnishing my self with Necessaries, encouraged me to go beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another Occasion.

My Raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable Weight; my next Care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I laid upon it from the Surf of the Sea; but I was not long considering this, I first laid all the Planks or Boards upon it that I could get, and having consider'd well what I most wanted, I first got three of the Seamens Chests, which I had broken open and empty'd, and lower'd them down upon my Raft; the first of these I fill'd with Provisions, *viz.* Bread, Rice, three *Dutch* Cheeses, five Pieces of dry'd Goat's Flesh, which we liv'd much upon, and a little Remainder of *European* Corn, which had been laid by for some Fowls which we brought to Sea with us, but the Fowls were kill'd; there had been some Barly and Wheat together, but, to my great Disappointment, I found afterwards that the Rats had eaten or spoil'd it all; as for Liquors, I found several Cases of Bottles belonging to our Skipper, in which were some Cordial Waters, and in all about five or six Gallons of Rack, these I stow'd by themselves, there being no need to put them into the Chest, nor no room for them. While I was doing this, I found the Tide begin to flow, tho' very calm, and I had the Mortification to see my Coat, Shirt, and Wast-coat, which I had left on Shore upon the Sand, swim away; as for my Breeches, which were only Linnen and open kneed, I swam on Board in them and my Stockings: However

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over this put me upon rummaging for Cloaths, of which I found enough, but took no more than I wanted for present Use, for I had other Things which my Eye was more upon, as first Tools to work with on Shore, and it was a great while search-ing that I found out the Carpenter's Chest, which was indeed a very useful Prize to me, and much more valuable than a Ship-loading of Gold would have been at that time. I got down to my Raft, even wholeas it was, without loſing Time to look into it, for I knew in general what it contain'd.

My next Care was for some Ammunition and Arms; there were two very good Fowling-Pieces in the great Cabin, and two Piſtols, these I ſecur'd firſt, with some Powder-Horns, and a ſmall Bag of Shot, and two old ruſty Swords. I knew there were three Barrels of Powder in the Ship, but knew not where our Gunner had ſtow'd them, but with much Search I found them, two of them dry and good, the third had taken Water, thoſe two I got to my Raft, with the Arms, and now I thought my ſelf pretty well freighted, and began to think how I ſhould get to Shore with them, having neither Sail, Oar, or Rudder, and the leaſt Cap full of Wind would have overſet all my Navigation.

I had three Encouragements. 1. A ſmooth calm Sea. 2. The Tide riſing, and ſetting in to the Shore. 3. What little Wind there was blew me towards the Land; and thus, having found two or three broken Oars belonging to the Boat, and beſides the Tools which were in the Cheſt, I found two Saws, an Axe, and a Hammer, and with this Cargo I put to Sea: For a Mile, or thereabouts my Raft went very well, only that I found it drive a little diſtant from the Place where I had landed before, by which I perceiv'd that there was ſome In-

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Shore of the Water, and consequently I hop'd to find some Creek or River there, which I might make use of as a Port to get to Land with my Cargo.

As I imagin'd, so it was, there appear'd before me a little opening of the Land, and I found a strong Current or Tide set into it, so I guided my Raft as well as I could to keep in the Middle of the Stream. But here I had like to have suffer'd a second Shipwreck, which, had I, I think verily I should have broke my Heart, for knowing nothing of the Coast, my Raft run a-ground at one End of it upon a Shoal, and not being aground at the other End, it wanted but a little that all my Cargo had slipp'd off towards that End that was afloat, and so fallen into the Water: I did my utmost by setting my Back against the Chests, to keep them in their Places, but could not thrust off the Raft with all my Strength, neither durst I stir from the Posture I was in, but holding up the Chests with all my Might, stood in this Manner near half an Hour, in which time the rising of the Water brought me a little more upon a Level, and a little after, the Water still rising, my Raft floated again, and I thrust her off with the Oar I had, into the Channel, and then driving up higher, I at length found my self in the Mouth of a little River, with Land on both Sides, and a strong Current or Tide running up, I look'd on both Sides for a proper Place to get to Shore, for I was not willing to be driven too high up the River, hoping in time to see some Ship at Sea, and therefore resolv'd to place my self as near the Coast as I could.

At length I spy'd a little Cove on the right Shore of the Creek, to which with great Pain and Difficulty I guided my Raft, and at last got so near,

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as that, reaching Ground with my Oar, I could thrust her directly in, but here I had like to have dipt all my Cargo in the Sea again; for that Shore lying pretty steep, that is to say sloping, there was no Place to land, but where one End of my Float, if it run on Shore, would lie so high, and the other sink lower as before, that it would endanger my Cargo again. All that I could do, was to wait 'till the Tide was at the highest, keeping the Raft with my Oar like an Anchor to hold the Side of it fast to the Shore, near a flat Piece of Ground which I expected the Water would flow over; and so it did. As soon as I found Water enough, for my Raft drew about a Foot of Water, I thrust her on upon that flat Piece of Ground, and there fastened or moor'd her by sticking my two broken Oars into the Ground; one on one Side near one End, and one on the other Side near the other End; and thus I lay till the Water ebbed away, and left my Raft and all my Cargo safe on Shore.

My next Work was to view the Country, and seek a proper Place for my Habitation, and where to stow my Goods to secure them from whatever might happen; where I was, I yet knew not, whether on the Continent or on an Island, whether inhabited, or not inhabited; whether in Danger of wild Beasts or not: There was a Hill not above a Mile from me, which rose up very steep and high, and which seem'd to over-top some other Hills which lay as in a Ridge from it Northward; I took out one of the Fowling Pieces, and one of the Pistols, and an Horn of Powder, and thus arm'd I travell'd for Discovery up to the Top of that Hill, where after I had, with great Labour and Difficulty got to the Top, I saw my Fate to my great Affliction, (*viz.*) that I was in an Island environ'd every

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every Way with the Sea, no Land to be seen, except some Rocks which lay a great Way off, and two small Islands less than this, which lay about three Leagues to the West.

I found also that the Island I was in was barren, and, as I saw good Reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild Beasts, of whom however I saw none, yet I saw abundance of Fowls, but knew not their Kinds, neither when I kill'd them could I tell what was fit for Food, and what not; at my coming back, I shot at a great Bird which I saw sitting upon a Tree on the Side of a great Wood, I believe it was the first Gun that had been fir'd there since the Creation of the World; I had not sooner fir'd, but from all the Parts of the Wood there arose an innumerable Number of Fowls of many Sorts, making a confus'd Screaming, and Crying, every one according to his usual Note; but not one of them of any Kind that I knew. As for the Creature I kill'd, I took it to be a Kind of a Hawk, its Colour and Beak resembling it, but had no Talons or Claws more than common, its Flesh was Carrion, and fit for nothing.

Contented with this Discovery, I came back to my Raft, and fell to Work to bring my Cargo on Shore, which took me up the rest of that Day, and what to do with my self at Night I knew not, nor indeed where to rest; for I was afraid to lie down on the Ground, not knowing but some wild Beast might devour me, tho', as I afterwards found, there was really no Need for those Fears.

However, as well as I could, I barricado'd my self round with the Chests and Boards that I had brought on Shore, and made a kind of a Hut for that Night's Lodging; as for Food, I yet saw not which Way to supply my self, except that I had

seen two or three Creatures like Hares run out of the Wood where I shot the Fowl.

I now began to consider, that I might yet get a great many Things out of the Ship, which would be useful to me, and particularly some of the Rigging, and Sails, and such other Things as might come to Land, and I resolv'd to make another Voyage on Board the Vessel, if possible; and as I knew that the first Storm that blew must necessarily break her all in Pieces, I resolv'd to set all other Things apart, till I got every Thing out of the Ship that I could get; then I call'd a Council, that is to say, in my Thoughts, whether I should take back the Raft, but this appear'd impracticable; so I resolv'd to go as before, when the Tide was down, and I did so, only that I stripp'd before I went from my Hutt, having nothing but a chequer'd Shirt, a Pair of Linnen Drawers, and a Pair of Pumps on my Feet.

I got on Board the Ship, as before, and prepar'd a second Raft, and having had Experience of the first, I neither made this so unwieldy, nor loaded it so hard, but yet I brought away several Things very useful to me; as first, in the Carpenter's Stores I found two or three Bags full of Nails and Spikes, a great Skrew-Jack, a Dozen or two of Hatchets; and above all, that most useful Thing call'd a Grind-stone; all these I secur'd together, with several Things belonging to the Gunner, particularly two or three Iron Crows, and two Barrels of Musket-Bullets, seven Muskets, and another Fowling-Piece, with some small Quantity of Powder more; a large Bag full of small Shot, and a great Roll of Sheet-Lead: But this was so heavy, I could not hoise it up to get it over the Ship's Side.

Besides these things, I took all the Mens Cloaths that I could find, and a spare Fore-top-sail, a Ham-

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back and some Bedding; and with this I loaded my second Raft, and brought them all safe on Shore to my very great Comfort.

I was indeed some Apprehensions during my Absence from the Land, that at least my Provisions might be devour'd on Shore; but when I came back, I found no Sign of any Visitor, only there sat a Creature like a wild Cat upon one of the Chests, which when I came towards it, ran away a little Distance, and there stood still; she sat very composed, and unconcerned, and look'd full in my Face, as if she had a Mind to be acquainted with me. I presented my Gun at her, but as she did not understand it, she was perfectly unconcern'd at it, nor did she offer to stir away; upon which I toss'd her a bit of Biskey, which by the Way I was not very free of, for my Store was not great: However, I spar'd her a bit, I say, and she went to it, smell'd of it, and eat it, and look'd (as pleas'd) for more, but I thank'd her, and could spare no more; so she march'd off.

Having got my second Cargo on Shore, tho' I was fain to open the Barrels of Powder, and bring them by Parcels, for they were too heavy, being large Casks; I went to work to make me a little Tent with the Sail and some Poles which I cut for that purpose, and into this Tent I brought every Thing that I knew would spoil, either with Rain or Sun, and I piled all the empty Chests and Casks up in a Circle round the Tent, to fortify it from any sudden Attempt, either from Man or Beast.

When I had done this I block'd up the Door of the Tent with some Boards within, and an empty Chest set up on End without, and spreading one of the Beds upon the Ground, laying my two Pistols just at my Head, and my Gun at Length by me, I went to Bed for the first Time, and slept very

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very quietly all Night, for I was very weary, and heavy, for the Night before I had slept little, and had labour'd very hard all Day, as well to fetch all those Things from the Ship, as to get them on Shore.

I had the biggest Magazine of all Kinds now that ever were laid up, I believe, for one Man; but I was not satisfy'd still; for while the Ship sat upright in that Posture, I thought I ought to get every Thing out of her that I could; so every Day at low Water I went on Board, and brought away some Thing or other: But particularly the third Time I went, I brought away as much of the Rigging as I could, as also all the small Ropes and Rope-twine I could get, with a Piece of spare Canvas, which was to mend the Sails upon Occasion, the Barrel of wet Gun-Powder: In a Word, I brought away all the Sails first and last, only that I was fain to cut them in Pieces, and bring as much at a Time as I could; for they were no more useful to be Sails, but as meer Canvas only.

But that which comforted me more still, was, that at last of all, after I had made five or six such Voyages as these, and thought I had nothing more to expect from the Ship that was worth my meddling with, I say, after all this, I found a great Hogshead of Bread, and three large Runlets of Rum or Spirits, and a Box of Sugar, and a Barrel of fine Flower; this was surprizing to me, because I had given over expecting any more Provisions, except what was spoil'd by the Water. I soon empty'd the Hogshead of that Bread, and wrapt it up, Parcel by Parcel, in Pieces of the Sails, which I cut out; and in a Word, I got all this safe on Shore also.

The next Day I made another Voyage; and now having plunder'd the Ship of what was portable

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lie and fit to hand out, I began with the Cables; and cutting the great Cable into Pieces, such as I could move, I got two Cables and a Hawser on Shore, with all the Iron-work I could get; and having cut down the Spritsail-yard, and the Mizen-yard, and every Thing I could to make a large Raft, I loaded with it all those heavy Goods, and came away: but my good Luck began now to leave me; for this Raft was so unweildy, and so overloaden, that after I was enter'd the little Cove, where I had landed the rest of my Goods, not being able to guide it so handily as I did the other, it overset, and threw me and all my Cargo into the Water; as for my self it was no great Harm, for I was near the Shore; but as to my Cargo, it was great Part of it lost, especially the Iron, which I expected would have been of great Use to me: However, when the Tide was out, I got most of the Pieces of Cable ashore, and some of the Iron, tho' with infinite Labour; for I was fain to dip for it into the Water, a Work which fatigu'd me very much: After this I went every Day on board, and brought away what I could get.

I had been now thirteen Days on Shore, and had been eleven Times on Board the Ship; in which Time I had brought away all that one Pair of Hands could well be suppos'd capable to bring, tho' I believe verily, had the calm Weather held I should have brought away the whole Ship Piece by Piece: But preparing the 12th Time to go on Board, I found the Wind begin to rise; however at low Water I went on Board, and tho' I thought I had rumag'd the Cabin so effectually, as that nothing more could be found, yet I discover'd a Locker with Drawers in it, in one of which I found two or three Razors, and one Pair of large Scissars, with some ten or a dozen of good Knives and

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Forks; in another I found about Thirty ſix Pounds value in Money, ſome *European* Coin, ſome *Braſil*, ſome Pieces of Eight, ſome Gold, ſome Silver.

I ſmil'd to my ſelf at the Sight of this Money, O Drug! ſaid I aloud, what art thou good for? Thou art not worth to me, no not the taking off of the Ground, one of thoſe Knives is worth all this Heap, I have no Manner of uſe for thee, e'en remain where thou art, and go to the Bottom as a Creature whoſe Life is not worth ſaving. However upon ſecond Thoughts, I took it away, and wrapping all this in a Piece of Canvas, I began to think of making another Raft, but while I was preparing this, I found the Sky overcaſt, and the Wind began to riſe, and in a Quarter of an Hour it blew a freſh Gale from the Shore; it preſently occur'd to me, that it was in vain to pretend to make a Raft with the Wind off Shore, and that it was my Buſineſs to be gone before the Tide of Flood began, otherwiſe I might not be able to reach the Shore at all: Accordingly I let my ſelf down into the Water, and ſwam croſs the Channel, which lay between the Ship and the Sands, and even that with Difficulty enough, partly with the Weight of the Things I had about me, and partly the roughneſs of the Water, for the Wind roſe very haſtily, and before it was quite high Water, it blew a Storm.

But I was got Home to my little Tent, where I lay with all my Wealth about me very ſecure. It blew very hard all that Night, and in the Morning when I look'd out, behold no more Ship was to be ſeen; I was a little ſurpriz'd, but recover'd my ſelf with this ſatisfactory Reflection, *viz.* That I had loſt no Time, nor abated no Diligence to get every Thing out of her that could be uſeful to me, and that indeed there was little left in her that I

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was able to bring away, if I had had more Time.

I now gave over any more Thoughts of the Ship, or of any Thing out of her, except what might drive on Shore from her Wreck, as indeed divers Pieces of her afterwards did; but those Things were of small use to me.

My Thoughts were now wholly employ'd about securing my self either against Savages, if any should appear, or wild Beasts, if any were in the Island; and I had many Thoughts of the Method how to do this, and what kind of Dwelling to make, whether I should make me a Cave in the Earth, or a Tent upon the Earth: And, in short, I resolv'd upon both, the Manner and Description of which it may not be improper to give an Account of.

I soon found the Place I was in was not for my Settlement, particularly because it was upon a low moorish Ground near the Sea, and I believ'd would not be wholesome, and more particularly because there was no fresh Water near it, so I resolv'd to find a more healthy and more convenient Spot of Ground.

I consulted several Things in my Situation which I found would be proper for me, 1st. Health, and fresh Water I just now mention'd. 2dly, Shelter from the Heat of the Sun. 3dly, Security from ravenous Creatures, whether Men or Beasts. 4thly, a View to the Sea, that if God sent any Ship in Sight, I might not lose any Advantage for my Deliverance, of which I was not willing to banish all my Expectation yet.

In search of a Place proper for this, I found a little Plain on the side of a rising Hill, whose Front towards this little Plain was steep as a House-side, so that nothing could come down upon me from the Top; on the side of this Rock

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there was a hollow Place worn a little Way in like the Entrance or Door of a Cave, but there was not really any Cave or Way into the Rock at all.

On the flat of the Green, just before this hollow Place, I resolv'd to pitch my Tent: This Plain was not above an hundred Yards broad, and about twice as long, and lay like a Green before my Door, and at the End of it descended irregularly every Way down into the low Grounds by the Sea-side. It was on the *N.N.W.* Side of the Hill, so that I was shelter'd from the Heat every Day, till it came to a *W.* and by *S.* Sun, or thereabouts, which in those Countries is near the Setting.

Before I set up my Tent, I drew a half Circle before the hollow Place, which took in about ten Yards in its Semi-diameter from the Rock, and twenty yards in its Diameter, from its Beginning and Ending.

In this half Circle I pitch'd two Rows of strong Stakes, driving them into the Ground till they stood very firm like Piles, the biggest End being out of the Ground about five Foot and and an half, and sharpen'd on the Top; the two Rows did not stand above six Inches from one another.

Then I took the Pieces of Cable which I had cut in the Ship, and laid them in Rows one upon another, within the Circle between these two Rows of Stakes, up to the Top, placing other Stakes in the Inside, leaning against them, about two Foot and a half high, like a Spur to a Post, and this Fence was so strong, that neither Man or Beast could get into it or over it: This cost me a great deal of Time and Labour, especially to cut the Piles in the Woods, bring them to the Place, and drive them into the Earth.

The Entrance into this Place I made to be not by a Door, but by a short Ladder, to go over the

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the Top, which Ladder, when I was in, I lifted over after me, and ſo I was compleatly fenced in, and fortify'd, as I thought, from all the World, and conſequently ſlept ſecure in the Night, which otherwiſe I could not have done, tho' as it appear'd afterward, there was no need of all this Caution from the Enemies that I apprehended Danger from.

Into this Fence or Fortreſs, with infinite Labour, I carry'd all my Riches, all my Proviſions, Ammunition and Stores, of which you have the Account above, and I made me a large Tent, which to preſerve me from the Rains, that in one Part of the Year are very violent there, I made double, *viz.* one ſmaller Tent within, and one larger Tent above it, and cover'd the uppermoſt with a large Tarpaulin which I had ſav'd among the Sails.

And now I lay no more for a while in the Bed which I had brought on Shore, but in a Hammock, which was indeed a very good one, and belong'd to the Mate of the Ship.

Into this Tent I brought all my Proviſions, and every Thing that would ſpoil by the Wet, and having thus enclos'd all my Goods, I made up the Entrance, which till now I had left open, and ſo paſs'd and repaſs'd, as I ſaid, by a ſhort Ladder.

When I had done this, I began to work my Way into the Rock, and bringing all the Earth and Stones that I dug down out thro' my Tent, I laid 'em up within my Fence in the Nature of a Terras, that ſo it rais'd the Ground within about a Foot a half; and thus I made me a Cave juſt behind my Tent, which ſerv'd me like a Cellar to my Houſe.

It coſt me much Labour, and many Days, before all theſe Things were brought to Perfection, and therefore I muſt go back to ſome other things which took up ſome of my Thoughts. At the ſame time it

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happen'd after I had laid my Scheme for the ſetting up my Tent, and making the Cave, that a Storm of Rain falling from a thick dark Cloud, a ſudden Flaſh of Lightning happen'd, and after that a great Clap of Thunder, as is naturally the Effect of it; I was not ſo much ſurpriz'd with the Lightning, as I was with a Thought which darted into my Mind as ſwift as the Lightning it ſelf: O my Powder! my very Heart ſunk within me, when I thought, that at one Blaſt all my Powder my be deſtroy'd; on which, not my Defence only, but the providing me Food, as I thought, entirely depended; I was nothing near ſo anxious about my own Danger, tho' had the Powder took fire, I had never known who had hurt me.

Such Impreſſion did this make upon me, that after the Storm was over, I laid aſide all my Works, my Buildings, and Fortifying, and apply'd my ſelf to make Bags and Boxes to ſeparate the Powder, and keep it a little and a little in a Parcel, in hope, that whatever might come, it might not all take Fire at once, and to keep it ſo apart, that it ſhould not be poſſible to make one Part fire another. I finiſh'd this Work in about a Fortnight, and I think my Powder, which in all was about 240 lb. weight, was divided, in not leſs than a hundred Parcels; as to the Barrel that had been wet, I did not apprehend any Danger from that, ſo I plac'd it in my new Cave, which in my Fancy I call'd my Kitchin, and the reſt I hid up and down in Holes among the Rocks, ſo that no wet might come to it, marking very carefully where I laid it.

In the Interval of time while this was doing, I went out once at leaſt every Day with my Gun, as well to divert my ſelf, as to ſee if I could kill any thing

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thing fit for Food, and as near as I could to acquaint my self with what the Island produc'd. The first time I went out I presently discover'd that there were Goats in the Island, which was a great Satisfaction to me; but then it was attended with this Misfortune to me, *viz.* That they were so shy, so subtile, and so swift of Foot, that it was the difficultest thing in the World to come at them: But I was not discourag'd at this, not doubting but I might now and then shoot one, as it soon happen'd, for after I had found their Haunts a little, I laid wait in this Manner for them: I observ'd if they saw me in the Valleys, tho' they were upon the Rocks, they would run away as in a terrible Fright; but if they were feeding in the Valleys, and I was upon the Rocks, they took no Notice of me, from whence I concluded, that by the Position of their Opticks, their Sight was so directed downward, that they did not readily see Objects that were above them; so afterwards I took this Method, I always climbed the Rocks first to get above them, and then had frequently a fair Mark. The first shot I made among these Creatures, I kill'd a She-Goat which had a little Kid by her which she gave suck to, which griev'd me heartily; but when the Old one fell, the Kid stood stock still by her till I came and took her up, and not only so, but when I carried the Old one with me upon my Shoulders, the Kid follow'd me quite to my Enclosure, upon which I laid down the Dam, and took the Kid in my Arms, and carried it over my Pale, in hopes to have bred it up tame, but it would not eat, so was I forc'd to kill it and eat it my self; these two supply'd me with Flesh a great while, for I eat sparingly; and sav'd my Provisions (my Bread especially) as much as possible I could.

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Having now fix'd my Habitation, I found it abſolutely neceſſary to provide a Place to make a Fire in, and Fewel to burn; and what I did for that, as alſo how I enlarg'd my Cave, and what Conveniencies I made, I ſhall give a full Account of in its Place: But I muſt firſt give ſome little Account of my ſelf, and of my Thoughts about Living, which it may well be ſuppoſed were not a few.

I had a diſmal Proſpect of my Condition, for as I was not caſt away upon that Iſland without being driven, as is ſaid, by a violent Storm quite out of the Courſe of our intended Voyage, and a great Way, *viz.* ſome hundreds of Leagues out of the ordinary Courſe of the Trade of Mankind, I had great Reaſon to conſider it as a Determination of Heaven, that in this diſolate Place, and in this diſolate Manner I ſhould end my Life; the Tears would run plentifully down my Face when I made theſe Reflections, and ſometimes I would expoſtulate with my ſelf, Why Providence ſhould thus compleatly ruin its Creatures, and render them ſo abſolutely miſerable, ſo without Help abandon'd, ſo entirely depreſs'd, that it could hardly be rational to be thankful for ſuch a Life.

But ſomething always return'd ſwift upon me to check theſe Thoughts, and to reprove me; and particularly one Day walking with my Gun in my Hand by the Sea-ſide, I was very penſive upon the Subject of my preſent Condition, when Reaſon as it were expoſtulated with me t'other Way, thus: Well, you are in a deſolate Condition 'tis true, but pray remember, Where are the reſt of you? Did not you come Eleven of you into the Boat, where are the Ten? Why were not they ſav'd and you loſt? Why were you ſingled out? Is it better to be here or there? And then I pointed to the Sea. All

Evils

Evils are to be consider'd with the Good that is in them, and with what worse attends them.

Then it occur'd to me again, how well I was furnish'd for my Subsistence, and what would have been my Case if it had not happen'd, *Which was an Hundred Thousand to One*, that the Ship floated from the Place where she first struck and was driven so near to the Shore, that I had Time to get all these Things out of her: What would have been my Case, if I had been to have liv'd in the Condition in which I at first came on Shore, without Necessaries of Life, or Necessaries to supply and procure them? Particularly, said I aloud, (tho' to my self) what should I have done without a Gun, without Ammunition, without any Tools to make any thing, or to work with, without Cloaths, Bedding, a Tent, or any manner of Covering, and that now I had all these to a sufficient Quantity, and was in a fair way to provide my self in such a manner, as to live without my Gun when my Ammunition was spent; so that I had a tolerable View of subsisting without any Want as long as I liv'd; for I consider'd from the beginning how I would provide for the Accidents that might happen, and for the Time that was to come, even not only after my Ammunition should be spent, but even after my Health or Strength should decay.

I confess I had not entertain'd any Notion of my Ammunition being destroy'd at one Blast, I mean, my Powder being blown up by Lightning, and this made the Thoughts of it so surprizing to me when it lighten'd and thunder'd, as I observ'd just now.

And now being to enter into a melancholy Relation of a Scene of silent Life, such perhaps as was never heard of in the World before, I shall take it from its Beginning, and continue it in its Order,

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Order. It was, by my Account, the 30th of Sept. when, in the Manner as abovesaid, I first set Foot upon this horrid Island, when the Sun being, to us, in its Autumnal Equinox, was almost just over my Head, for I reckon'd my self, by Observation, to be in the Latitude of 9 Degrees 22 Minutes, North of the Line.

After I had been there about ten or twelve Days, it came into my Thoughts, that I should lose my Reckoning of Time for want of Books and Pen and Ink, and should even forget the Sabbath Days from the working Days; but to prevent this, I cut it with my Knife upon a large Post, in Capital Letters, and making it into a great Cross, I set it up on the Shore where I first landed, *viz. I came on Shore here on the 30th of* Sept. 1659. Upon the Sides of this square Post, I cut every Day a Notch with my Knife, and every seventh Notch was as long again as the rest, and every first Day of the Month as long again as that long one, and thus I kept my Kalender, or weekly, monthly, and yearly reckoning of Time.

In the next Place we are to observe, that among the many Things which I brought out of the Ship in the several Voyages, which as abovemention'd, I made to it, I got several Things of less Value, but not at all less useful to me, which I omitted setting down before; as in particular, Pens, Ink, and Paper, several Parcels in the Captain's, Mate's, Gunner's, and Carpenter's keeping, three or four Compasses, some Mathematical Instruments, Dials, Perspectives, Charts, and Books of Navigation, all which I huddled together, whether I might want them or no; also I found three very good Bibles, which came to me in my Cargo from *England*, and which I had pack'd up among my Things; some *Portugueze* Books also, and among them two

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or three Popiſh Prayer-Books, and ſeveral other Books; all which I carefully ſecur'd. And I muſt not forget, that we had in the Ship a Dog and two Cats; of whoſe eminent Hiſtory, I may have Occaſion to ſay ſomething in its Place; for I carry'd both the Cats with me; and as for the Dog, he jump'd out of the Ship of himſelf, and ſwam on Shore to me the Day after I went on Shore with my firſt Cargo, and was a truſty Servant to me many Years: I wanted nothing he could fetch me, nor any Company that he could make up to me; I only wanted to have him talk to me, but that would not do. As I obſerv'd before, I found Pen, Ink, and Paper, and I husbanded them to the utmoſt; and I ſhall ſhew, that while my Ink laſted, I kept Things very exact; but after that was gone, I could not; for I could not make any Ink, by any Means that I could deviſe.

And this put me in mind that I wanted many things, notwithſtanding all that I had amaſs'd together; and of theſe, this of Ink was one, as alſo Spade, Pick-Ax, and Shovel, to dig or remove the Earth, Needles, Pins, and Thread; as for Linnen, I ſoon learn'd to want that without much Difficulty.

This Want of Tools made every Work I did, go on heavily; and it was near a whole Year before I had entirely finiſh'd my little Pale or ſurrounded Habitation: The Piles or Stakes, which were as heavy as I could well lift, were a long Time in cutting and preparing in the Woods, and more by far in bringing home; ſo that I ſpent ſometimes two Days in cutting and bringing home one of thoſe Poſts, and a third Day in driving it into the Ground; for which Purpoſe I got a heavy Piece of Wood at firſt, but at laſt bethought myſelf of one of the Iron Crows, which however, tho' I found it, yet

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it made driving those Posts or Piles very laborious and tedious Work.

But what need I ha' been concern'd at the Tediousness of any Thing I had to do, seeing I had Time enough to do it in; nor had I any other Employment, if that had been over, at least, that I could foresee, except the ranging the Island to seek for Food, which I did more or less every Day.

I now began to consider seriously my Condition, and the Circumstance I was reduc'd to, and I drew up the State of my Affairs in Writing, not so much to leave them to any that were to come after me; for I was like to have but few Heirs, as to deliver my Thoughts from daily poring upon them, and afflicting my Mind; and as my Reason began now to master my Despondency, I began to comfort myself as well as I could, and to set the Good against the Evil, that I might have something to distinguish my Case from worse; and I stated it very impartially, like Debtor and Creditor, the Comforts I enjoy'd, against the Miseries I suffer'd, thus:

Evil.	Good.
I am cast upon a horrible desolate Island, void of all Hope of Recovery.	*But I am alive, and not drown'd, as all my Ship's Company was.*
I am singled out and separated, as it were, from all the World to be miserable.	*But I am singled out too from all the Ship's Crew to be spared from Death; and he that miraculously saved me from Death, can deliver me from this Condition.*
I am divided from Mankind, a Solitaire, one banish'd from humane Society.	*But I am not starv'd and perishing on a barren Place, affording no Sustenance*

I have

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I have no Cloaths to cover me.

But I am in a hot Climate, where if I had Cloaths I could hardly wear them.

I am without any Defence or Means to resist any Violence of Man or Beast.

But I am cast on an Island, where I see no wild Beasts to hurt me, as I saw on the Coast of Africa: *And what if I had been Shipwreck'd there?*

I have no Soul to speak to, or relieve me.

But God wonderfully sent the Ship in near enough to the Shore, that I have gotten out so many necessary Things as will either supply my Wants, or enable me to supply my self even as long as I live.

Upon the whole, here was an undoubted Testimony, that there was scarce any Condition in the World so miserable, but there was something *negative*, or something *positive*, to be thankful for in it; and let this stand as a Direction from the Experience of the most miserable of all Conditions in this World, that we may always find in it something to comfort our selves from, and to set in the Description of Good and Evil, on the Credit Side of the Account.

Having now brought my Mind a little to relish my Condition, and given over looking out to Sea, to see if I could spy a Ship; I say, giving over these Things, I began to apply myself to accommodate my way of Living, and to make Things as easy to me as I could.

I have

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I have already described my Habitation, which was a Tent under the Side of a Rock, surrounded with a strong Pales of Posts and Cables, but I might now rather call it a Wall, for I rais'd a kind of Wall up against it of Turfs, about two Foot thick on the Outside, and after some time, I think it was a Year and half, I rais'd Rafters from it leaning to the Rock, and thatch'd or cover'd it with Boughs of Trees, and such things as I could get to keep out of the Rain, which I found at some times of the Year very violent.

I have already observed how I brought all my Goods into this Pale, and into the Cave which I had made behind me: But I must observe too that at first this was a confus'd Heap of Goods, which as they lay in no Order, so they took up all my Place; I had no room to turn myself; So I set myself to enlarge my Cave and Works farther into the Earth; for it was a loose sandy Rock, which yielded easily to the Labour I bestowed on it: And so when I found I was pretty safe as to Beasts of Prey, I work'd sideways to the Right Hand into the Rock; and then turning to the Right again, work'd quite out, and made me a Door to come out, on the Outside of my Pale or Fortification.

This gave me not only Egress and Regress, as it were a Back-way to my Tent and to my Storehouse, but gave me room to stow my Goods.

And now I began to apply my self to make such necessary things as I found I most wanted, as particularly a Chair and a Table, for without these I was not able to enjoy the few Comforts I had in the World; I could not write or eat, or do several things with so much Pleasure without a Table.

So I went to work; and here I must needs observe, that as Reason is the Substance and Original

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nal of the Mathematicks, so by stating and squaring every Thing by Reason, and by making the most rational Judgment of Things, every Man may be in time Master of every mechanick Art. I had never handled Tool in my Life, and yet in [illegible]y Labour, Application and Contrivance, I found at last that I wanted nothing but I could have made it, especially if I had had Tools; however, I made abundance of Things, even without Tools, and some with no more Tools than an Adze and a Hatchet, which perhaps were never made that way before, and that with infinite Labour: For Example, if I wanted a Board, I had no other Way but to cut down a Tree, set it on an Edge before me, and hew it flat on either Side with my Ax, till I had brought it to be thin as a Plank, and then dubb it smooth with my Adze. It is true, by this Method I could make but one Board out of a whole Tree, but this I had no Remedy for but Patience, any more than I had for the prodidious deal of Time and Labour which it took me up to make a Plank or Board: But my Time or Labour was little worth, and so it was as well employ'd one way as another.

However, I made me a Table and a Chair, as I observ'd above, in the first Place, and this I did out of the short Pieces of Boards that I brought on my Raft from the Ship: But when I had wrought out some Boards, as above, I made large Shelves of the Breadth of a Foot and a Half one over another, all along one Side of my Cave, to lay all my Tools, Nails, and Iron-work, and in a Word, to separate every Thing at large in their Places, that I might come easily at them; I knock'd Pieces into the Wall of the Rock to hang my Guns and all Things that would hang up.

So

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So that had my Cave been to be ſeen, it look'd like a general Magazine of all neceſſary Things, and I had every Thing ſo ready at my Hand, that it was a great Pleaſure to me to ſee all my Goods in ſuch Order, and eſpecially to find my Stock of all Neceſſaries ſo great.

And now it was when I began to keep a Journal of every Day's Employment, for indeed at firſt I was in too much Hurry, and not only Hurry as to Labour, but in too much Diſcompoſure of Mind, and my Journal would ha' been full of many dull things. For Example, I muſt have ſaid thus: *Sept.* the 30th, After I got to Shore and had eſcap'd drowning, inſtead of being thankful to God for my Deliverance, having firſt vomited with the great Quantity of ſalt Water which was gotten into my Stomach, and recovering my ſelf a little, I ran about the Shore, wringing my Hands and beating my Head and Face, exclaiming at my Miſery, and crying out, I was undone, undone, till tir'd and faint I was forc'd to lye down on the Ground to repoſe, but durſt not ſleep for fear of being devour'd.

Some Days after this, and after I had been on board the Ship, and got all that I could out of her, yet I could not forbear getting up to the Top of a little Mountain and looking out to Sea in hopes of ſeeing a Ship, then fancy at a vaſt Diſtance I ſpy'd a Sail, pleaſe myſelf with the Hopes of it, and then after looking ſteadily till I was almoſt blind, loſe it quite, and ſit down and weep like a Child, and thus encreaſe my Miſery by my Folly.

But having gotten over theſe things in ſome Meaſure, and having ſettled my Houſhould-Stuff and Habitation, made me a Table and a Chair, and all as handſome about me as I could, I began to keep my

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my Journal of which I shall here give you the Copy (tho' in it will be told all these Particulars over again) as long as it lasted, for having no more Ink I was forc'd to leave it off.

The JOURNAL.

September 30, 1659. I poor miserable *Robinson Curſoe*, being Shipwreck'd, during a dreadful Storm, in the Offing, came on Shore on this dismal unfortunate Island, which I call'd *the Island of Deſpair*, all the rest of the Ship's Company being drown'd, and my self almost dead.

All the rest of the Day I spent in afflicting my self at the dismal Circumstances I was brought to, *viz.* I had neither Food, House, Cloaths, Weapon, or Place to fly to, and in Despair of any Relief, saw nothing but Death before me, either that I should be devour'd by wild Beasts, murther'd by Savages, or starv'd to Death for want of Food. At the Approach of Night, I slept in a Tree for fear of wild Creatures, but slept soundly tho' it rain'd all Night.

October 1. In the Morning I saw to my great Surprise the Ship had floated with the high Tide, and was driven on Shore again much nearer the Island, which as it was some Comfort on one hand, for seeing her sit upright, and not broken to pieces I hop'd, if the Wind abated, I might get on board, and get some Food and Necessaries out of her for my Relief; so on the other hand it renew'd my Grief at the Loss of my Comrades, who I imagin'd if we had all staid on board might have sav'd the Ship, or at least that they would not have been all drown'd as they were; and that had the Men been sav'd, we might perhaps have built us a Boat out of the Ruins of the Ship, to have car-

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ried us to ſome other Part of the World. I ſpent great part of this Day in perplexing my ſelf on theſe things; but at length ſeeing the Ship almoſt dry, I went upon the Sand as near as I could, and then Swam on Board; this Day alſo continu'd raining, tho' with no Wind at all.

From the 1ſt of *October* to the 24th. All theſe Days entirely ſpent in many ſeveral Voyages to get all I could out of the Ship, which I brought on Shore, every Tide of Flood, upon Rafts. Much Rain alſo in theſe Days, thro' with ſome Intervals of fair Weather: But, it ſeems, this was the rainy Seaſon.

Oct. 20. I overſet my Raft, and all the Goods I had got upon it, but being in ſhoal Water, and the things being chiefly heavy, I recover'd many of them when the Tide was out.

Oct. 25. It rain'd all Night and all Day, with ſome Guſts of Wind, during which time the Ship broke in pieces, the Wind blowing a little harder than before, and was no more to be ſeen, except the Wreck of her, and that only at low Water, I ſpent this Day in covering and ſecuring the Goods which I had ſav'd, that Rain might not ſpoil them.

Oct. 26. I walk'd about the Shore almoſt all Day to find out a Place to fix my Habitation, greatly concern'd to ſecure my ſelf from any Attack in the Night, either from wild Beaſts or Men. Towards Night I fix'd upon a proper place under a Rock, and mark'd out a Semi-Circle for my Encampment, which I reſolv'd to ſtrengthen with a Work, Wall, or Fortification made of double Piles, lin'd within with Cable, and without with Turf.

From the 26th to the 30th I work'd very hard in carrying all my Goods to my new Habitation

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tho' some part of the time it rain'd exceeding hard.

The 31st in the Morning I went out into the Island with my Gun to see for some Food, and discover the Country; when I kill'd a She-Goat, and her Kid follow'd me home, which I afterwards kill'd also, because it would not feed.

November 1. I set up my Tent under a Rock, and lay there for the first Night, making it as large as I could with Stakes driving in to swing my Hammock upon.

Nov. 2. I set up all my Chests and Boards, and the Pieces of Timber which made my Rafts, and with them form'd a Fence round me, a little within the Place I had mark'd out for my Fortification.

Nov. 3. I went out with my Gun, and kill'd two Fowls like Ducks, which were very good Food. In the Afternoon went to work to make me a Table.

Nov. 4. This Morning I began to order my times of Work, of going out with my Gun, time of Sleep, and time of Diversion, *viz.* Every Morning I walk'd out with my Gun for two or three Hours if it did not Rain, then employ'd myself to work till about Eleven a-clock, then eat what I had to live on, and from Twelve to Two I lay down to sleep, the Weather being excessive hot, and then in the Evening to work again: The working Part of this Day and the next were wholly employed in making my Table, for I was yet but a very sorry Workman, tho' Time and Necessity made me a compleat natural Mechanick soon after, as I believe it would do any one else.

Nov. 5. This Day went abroad with my Gun and my Dog, and kill'd a wild Cat, her Skin pretty soft, but her Flesh good for nothing: Every

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Creature I kill'd, I took off the Skins and preserv'd them. Coming back by the Sea-shore, I saw many Sorts of Sea-Fowls, which I did not understand; but was surpriz'd, and almost frighted with two or three Seals, which, while I was gazing at, not well knowing what they were, got into the Sea, and escap'd me for that Time.

Nov. 6. After my Morning Walk, I went to work with my Table again, and finish'd it, tho' not to my Liking; nor was it long before I learn'd to mend it.

Nov. 7. Now it began to be settled fair Weather. The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and Part of the 12th, (for the 11th was *Sunday*, according to my Reckoning) I took wholly up to make me a Chair, and with much ado brought it to a tolerable Shape, but never to please me; and even in the making I pull'd it to Pieces several Times. *Note*, I soon neglected my keeping *Sunday*; for omitting my Mark for them on my Post, I forgot which was which.

Nov. 13. This Day it rain'd, which refresh'd me exceedingly, and cool'd the Earth, but it was accompany'd with terrible Thunder and Lightning, which frighted me dreadfully, for fear of my Powder: As soon at it was over, I resolv'd to separate my Stock of Powder into as many little Parcels as possible, that it might not be in Danger.

Nov. 14, 15, 16. These three Days I spent in making little square Chests or Boxes, which might hold about a Pound, or two Pound, at most, of Powder; and so putting the Powder in, I stowed it in Places as secure and remote from one another, as possible. On one of these three Days I kill'd a large Bird that was good to eat, but I know not what to call it.

Nov. 17. This Day I began to dig behind my Tent into the Rock, to make room for my farther

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Conveniency. *Note*, Three Things I wanted exceedingly for this Work, *viz.* a Pick-ax, a Shovel and a Wheel-barrow or Basket, so I desisted from my Work, and began to consider how to supply that Want, and make me some Tools: As for a Pick-ax, I made use of the Iron Crows, which were proper enough, tho' heavy; but the next Thing was a Shovel or Spade; this was so absolutely necessary, that indeed I could do nothing effectually without it; but what kind of one to make I knew not.

Nov. 18. The next Day in searching the Woods I found a Tree of that Wood, or like it, which in the *Brasils* they call the *Iron Tree*, for its exceeding Hardness; of this, with great Labour and almost spoiling my Ax, I cut a piece, and brought it Home too with Difficulty enough, for it was exceeding heavy.

The excessive hardness of the Wood, and having no other way, made me a long while upon this Machine; for I work'd it effectually by little and little into the Form of a Shovel or Spade, the Handle exactly shap'd like ours in *England*, only that the broad Part having no Iron shod upon it at Bottom, it would not last me so long; however it serv'd well enough for the Uses which I had Occasion to put it to; but never was a Shovel, I believe, made after that Fashion, or so long a making.

I was still deficient, for I wanted a Basket or a Wheel-barrow; a Basket I could not make by any means, having no such Things as Twigs that would bend to make Wicker Ware, at least none yet found out; and as to a Wheel-barrow, I fancy'd I could make all but the Wheel, but that I had no Notion of, neither did I know how to go about it; besides I had no possible way to make the Iron Gudgeons

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for the Spindle or Axis of the Wheel to run in, so I gave it over; and so for carrying away the Earth which I dug out of the Cave, I made me a Thing like a Hodd which the Labourers carry Mortar in, when they serve the Bricklayers.

This was not so difficult to me as the making the Shovel; and yet this, and the Shovel, and the Attempt, which I made in vain, to make a Wheelbarrow, took me up no less than four Days, I mean always, excepting my Morning Walk with my Gun, which I seldom fail'd; and very seldom fail'd also of bringing home something fit to eat.

Nov. 23. My other Work having now stood still, because of my making these Tools; when they were finish'd, I went on, and working every Day, as my Strength and Time allow'd, I spent eighteen Days entirely in widening and deepning my Cave, that it might hold my Goods commodiously.

Note, During all this Time, I work'd to make this Room or Cave spacious enough to accommodate me as a Warehouse or Magazine, a Kitchen, a Dining-room, and a Cellar; as for my Lodging, I kept to the Tent, except that sometimes in the wet Season of the Year, it rain'd so hard that I could not keep my self dry, which caus'd me afterwards to cover all my Place within my Pale with long Poles in the Form of Rafters, leaning against the Rock, and load them with Flags, and large Leaves of Trees like a Thatch.

December 10. I began now to think my Cave or Vault finished, when on a sudden (it seems I had made it too large) a great Quantity of Earth fell down, from the Top, and one Side, so much, that in short it frighted me, and not without Reason too; for if I had been under it, I had never wanted a Grave digger: Upon this Disaster I had

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a great deal of Work to do over again; for I had the looſe Earth to carry out, and which was of more Importance, I had the Cieling to prop up, ſo that I might be ſure no more would come down.

Dec. 11. This Day I went to work with it accordingly, and got two Shoars or Poſts pitch'd upright to the Top, with two Pieces of Boards a-croſs over each Poſt; this I finiſh'd the next Day; and ſetting more Poſts up with Boards, in about a Week more I had the Roof ſecur'd; and the Poſts ſtanding in Rows, ſerv'd me for Partitions to part of my Houſe.

Dec. 17. From this Day to the Twentieth I plac'd Shelves, and knock'd up Nails on the Poſts to hang every Thing up that could be hung up, and now I began to be in ſome Order within Doors.

Dec. 20. Now I carry'd every Thing into the Cave, and began to furniſh my Houſe and ſet up ſome Pieces of Boards, like a Dreſſer, to order my Victuals upon, but Boards began to be very ſcarce with me; alſo I made me another Table.

Dec. 24. Much Rain all Night and all Day; no ſtirring out.

Dec. 25. Rain all Day.

Dec. 26. No Rain, and the Earth much cooler than before, and pleaſanter.

Dec. 27. Kill'd a young Goat, and lam'd another ſo that I catch'd it, and led it Home in a String; when I had it Home, I bound and ſplinter'd up its Leg which was broke. *N. B.* I took ſuch care of it, that it liv'd, and the Leg grew well and as ſtrong as ever; but by nurſing it ſo long it grew tame, and fed upon the little Green at my Door, and would not go away: This was the firſt Time that I entertain'd a Thought of breeding up ſome tame Creatures,

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that I might have Food when my Powder and Shot was all ſpent.

Dec. 28, 29, 30. Great Heats and no Breeze; ſo that there was no ſtirring abroad, except in the Evening for Food; this Time I ſpent in putting all my Things in Order within Doors.

January 1. Very hot ſtill, but I went abroad early and late with my Gun, and lay ſtill in the middle of the Day; this Evening going farther into the Valleys, which lay towards the Center of the Iſland, I found there was plenty of Goats, tho' exceeding ſhy and hard to come at, however I reſolv'd to try if I could not bring my Dog to hunt them down.

Jan. 2. Accordingly, the next Day, I went out with my Dog, and ſat him upon the Goats; but I was miſtaken, for they all fac'd about upon the Dog, and he knew his Danger too well, for he would not come near them.

Jan. 3. I began my Fence or Wall; which, being ſtill jealous of my being attack'd by ſome Body, I reſolv'd to make very thick and ſtrong.

N. B. *This Wall being deſcrib'd before, I purpoſely omit what was ſaid in the Journal; it is ſufficient to obſerve, that I was no leſs Time than from the* 3*d of* January *to the* 14*th of* April, *working, finiſhing and perfecting this Wall, tho' it was no more than about* 24 *Yards in Length, being a half Circle from one Place in the Rock to another Place about eight Yards from it, the Door of the Cave being in the Center behind it.*

All this Time I work'd very hard, the Rains hindering me many Days, nay ſometimes Weeks together; but I thought I ſhould never be perfectly ſecure 'till this Wall was finiſh'd; and it is ſcarce

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ſcarce credible what inexpreſſible Labour every Thing was done with, eſpecially the bringing Piles out of the Woods, and driving them into the Ground; for I made them much bigger than I need to have done.

When this Wall was finiſh'd, and the Out-ſide double fenc'd with a Turf-Wall rais'd up cloſe to it, I perſuaded myſelf, that if any People were to come on Shore there, they would not perceive any Thing like a Habitation; and it was very well I did ſo, as may be obſerv'd hereafter upon a very remarkable Occaſion.

During this Time, I made my Rounds in the Woods for Game every Day when the Rain admitted me, and made frequent Diſcoveries in theſe Walks of ſomething or other to my Advantage; particularly I found a kind of wild Pidgeons, who built not as Wood Pidgeons in a Tree, but rather as Houſe Pidgeons, in the Holes of the Rocks; and taking ſome young ones, I endeavour'd to breed them up tame, and did ſo; but when they grew older, they flew all away, which perhaps was at firſt for want of feeding them, for I had nothing to give them; however I frequently found their Neſts, and got their young ones, which was very good Meat.

And now in the managing my Houſhold Affairs, I found my ſelf wanting in many Things, which I thought at firſt it was impoſſible for me to make, as indeed as to ſome of them it was; *for Inſtance*, I could never make a Cask to be hoop'd, I had a ſmall Runlet or two, *as I obſerv'd before*, but I cou'd never arrive to the Capacity of making one by them, tho' I ſpent many Weeks about it; I could neither put in the Heads, or joint the Staves ſo true to one another, as to make them hold Water, ſo I gave that alſo over.

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In the next Place, I was at a great Loss for Candle; so that as soon as ever it was dark, which was generally by Seven a Clock, I was oblig'd to go to Bed: I remember the Lump of Bees-wax with which I made Candles in my *African* Adventure, but I had none of that now; the only Remedy I had, was, that when I had kill'd a Goat, I sav'd the Tallow, and with a little Dish made of Clay, which I bak'd in the Sun, to which I added a Wick of some Oakum, I made me a Lamp; and this gave me Light, tho' not a clear steady Light like a Candle; in the middle of all my Labours it happen'd, that rummaging my Things, I found a little Bag, which, as I hinted before, had been fill'd with Corn for the feeding of Poultry, not for this Voyage, but before, as I suppose, when the Ship came from *Lisbon*; what little Remainder of Corn had been in the Bag, was all devour'd with the Rats, and I saw nothing in the Bag but Husks and Dust; and being willing to have the Bag for some other Use, I think it was to put Powder in, when I divided it for fear of the Lightning, or some such Use, I shook the Husks of Corn out of it on one Side of my Fortification under the Rock.

It was a little before the great Rains, just now mention'd, that I threw this Stuff away, taking no Notice of any Thing, and not so much as remembring that I had thrown any Thing there; when about a Month after, or thereabout, I saw some few Stalks of something Green shooting out of the Ground, which I fancy'd might be some Plant I had not seen, but I was surpriz'd and perfectly astonish'd, when after a little longer time I saw about ten or twelve Ears come out, which were perfect green Barley of the same Kind as our *European*, nay, as our *English* Barley.

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It is impossible to express the Astonishment and Confusion of my Thoughts on this Occasion; I had hitherto acted upon no religious Foundation at all; indeed I had very few Notions of Religion in my Head, or had entertain'd any Sense of any Thing that had befallen me, otherwise than as a Chance, or, as we lightly say, what pleases God; without so much as enquiring into the End of Providence in these Things, or his Order in governing Events in the World: But after I saw Barley grow there, in a Climate which I know was not proper for Corn, and especially that I knew not how it came there, it startled me strangely, and I began to suggest, that God had miraculously caus'd this Grain to grow without any help of Seed sown, and that it was so directed purely for my Sustenance on that wild miserable Place.

This touch'd my Heart a little, and brought Tears out of my Eyes, and I began to bless my self, that such a Prodigy of Nature should happen upon my Account; and this was the more strange to me, because I saw near it still all along by the Side of the Rock, some other straggling Stalks, which prov'd to be Stalks of Rice. and which I knew, because I had seen it grow in *Africa*, when I was ashore there.

I not only thought these the pure Productions of Providence for my Support, but not doubting, but that there was more in the Place; I went all over that part of the Island, where I had been before peering, in every Corner, and under every Rock, to see for more of it, but I could not find any; at last it occurr'd to my Thoughts, that I had shook a Bag of Chickens Meat out in that Place, and then the Wonder began to cease; and I must confess, my religious Thankfulness to God's Providence began to abate too upon the discove-

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ning that all this was nothing but what was common; tho' I ought to have been as thankful for so ſtrange, and unforeſeen Providence, as if it had been miraculous; for it was really the Work of Providence as to me, that ſhould order or appoint, that 10 or 12 Grains of Corn ſhould remain unſpoil'd (when the Rats had deſtroy'd all the reſt) as if it had been dropt from Heaven: As alſo that I ſhould throw it out in that particular Place where it being in the Shade of a high Rock, it ſprang up immediately; whereas if I had thrown it any where elſe at that Time, it had been burnt up and deſtroy'd.

I carefully ſav'd the Ears of this Corn, you may be ſure in their Seaſon, which was about the End of *June*, and laying up every Corn, I reſolv'd to ſow them all again, hoping in Time to have ſome Quantity ſufficient to ſupply me with Bread; but it was not till the 4th Year that I could allow my ſelf the leaſt Grain of this Corn to eat, and even then but ſparingly, as I ſhall ſay afterwards in its Order; for I loſt all that I ſow'd the firſt Seaſon, by not obſerving the proper Time for I ſow'd it juſt before the dry Seaſon, ſo that it never came up at all, at leaſt, not as it would have done: Of which in its Place.

Beſides this Barley, there was, as above 20 or 30 Stalks of Rice, which I preſerv'd with the ſame Care, and whoſe Uſe was of the ſame Kind, or to the ſame Purpoſe, (*viz.*) to make me Bread, or rather Food; for I found Ways to cook it up without baking, tho' I did that alſo after ſome Time. But to return to my Journal.

I work'd exceſſive hard theſe three or four Months to get my Wall done; and the 14th of *April* I cloſed it up, contriving to go into it, not by a Door, but over the Wall by a Ladder, that there

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there might be no Sign in the Out-side of my Habitation.

April 16. I finish'd the Ladder, so I went up with the Ladder to the Top, and then pull'd it up after me, and let it down on the Inside: This was a compleat Enclosure to me; for within I had Room enough, and nothing could come at me from without, unless it could first mount my Wall.

The very next Day after this Wall was finished, I had almost had all my Labour overthrown at once, and myself kill'd; the Case was thus: As I was busy in the Inside of it, behind my Tent, just in the Entrance into my Cave, I was terribly frighted with a most dreadful surprizing Thing indeed; for all on a sudden I found the Earth come crumbling down from the Roof of my Cave, and from the Edge of the Hill over my Head, and two of the Posts I had set up in the Cave, crack'd in a frightful manner: I was heartily scared, but thought nothing of what was really the Cause, only thinking that the top of my Cave was falling in, as some of it had done before; and for fear I shou'd be bury'd in it, I ran forward to my Ladder, and not thinking my self safe their neither, I got over my Wall for fear of the Pieces of the Hill which I expected might roll down upon me: I was no sooner stept down upon the firm Ground, but I plainly saw it was a terrible Earthquake, for the Ground I stood on shook three times at about eight Minutes distance, with three such Shocks, as would have overturned the strongest Building that could be suppos'd to have stood on the Earth; and a great Piece of the Top of a Rock, which stood about half Mile from me next the Sea, fell down with such a terible Noise, as I never heard in all my Life: I perceiv'd also, the very Sea was put into violent Motion by it; and I believe the

Shock

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Shocks were stronger under the Water than on the Island.

I was so amaz'd with the Thing it self, having never felt the like, or discoursed with any one that had, that I was like one dead or stupify'd; and the Motion of the Earth made my Stomach sick, like one that was tos'd at Sea; but the Noise of the falling of the Rock awak'd me, as it were, and rouzing me from the stupified Condition I was in, fill'd me with Horror, and I thought of nothing then but the Hill falling upon my Tent, and all my Houshold Goods, and burying all at once; and this sunk my very Soul within me a second time.

After the third Shock was over, and I felt no more for some time, I began to take Courage, and yet I had not Heart enough to get over my Wall again, for fear of being buried alive, but sat still upon the Ground, greatly cast down and disconsolate, not knowing what to do: All this while I had not the least serious religious Thought, nothing but the common, *Lord ha' Mercy upon me*; and when it was over, that went away too.

While I sat thus, I found the Air over-cast, and grew cloudy, as if it would rain; soon after that the Wind rose by little and little, so that in less than half an Hour it blew a most dreadful Hurricane: The Sea was all on a sudden cover'd over with Foam and Froth, the Shore was cover'd with the Breach of the Water, the Trees were torn up by the Roots, and a terrible Storm it was; and this held about three Hours, and then began to abate, and in two Hours more it was calm, and began to rain very hard.

All this while I sat upon the Ground very much terrify'd and dejected, when on a sudden it came into my Thoughts, that these Winds and Rain being the Consequence of the Earthquake, the Earthquake itself

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itself was spent and over, and I might venture into my Cave again: With this Thought my Spirits began to revive, and the Rain also helping to perswade me, I went in and sat down in my Tent, but the Rain was so violent, that my Tent was ready to be beaten down with it; and I was forc'd to go into my Cave, tho' very much afraid and uneasy for fear it should fall on my Head.

This violent Rain forc'd me to a new Work, viz. to cut a Hole thro' my new Fortification like a Sink to let Water go out, which would else have drown'd my Cave. After I had been in my Cave some Time, and found still no more Shocks of the Earthquake follow, I began to be more compos'd; and now to support my Spirits, which indeed wanted it very much, I went to my little Store, and took a small Sup of Rum, which however I did then and always very sparingly, knowing I could have no more when that was gone.

It continu'd raining all that Night, and great Part of the next Day, so that I could not stir abroad, but my Mind being more compos'd, I began to think of what I had best do, concluding, that if the Island was subject to these Earthquakes, there would be no living for me in a Cave, but I must consider of building me some little Hut in an open Place, which I might surround with a Wall as I had done here, and so make my self secure from wild Beasts or Men: But concluded, if I staid where I was, I should certainly, one Time or other, be bury'd alive.

With these Thoughts I resolv'd to remove my Tent from the Place where it stood, which was just under the hanging Precipice of the Hill, and which, if it should be shaken again, would certainly fall upon my Tent: And I spent the two next

Days

Days, being the 19th and 20th of *April*, in contriving where and how to remove my Habitation.

The Fear of being ſwallow'd up alive, made me that I never ſlept in Quiet; and yet the Apprehenſion, of lying abroad without any Fence, was almoſt equal to it: But ſtill when I look'd about, and ſaw how every Thing was put in Order, how pleaſantly conceal'd I was, and how ſafe from Danger, it made me very loth to remove.

In the mean time it occurr'd to me, that it would require a vaſt deal of Time for me to do this, and that I muſt be contented to run the Venture where I was, 'till I had form'd a Camp for myſelf, and had ſecur'd it ſo as to remove to it: So with this Reſolution I compos'd myſelf for a Time, and reſolv'd that I would go to work with all Speed to build me a Wall with Piles and Cables, *&c.* in a Circle as before, and ſet my Tent up in it when it was finiſh'd, but that I would venture to ſtay where I was 'till it was finiſh'd and fit to remove to. This was the 21ſt.

April 22. The next Morning I began to conſider of Means to put this Reſolve in Execution, but I was at a great Loſs about my Tools; I had three large Axes and abundance of Hatchets, (for we carry'd the Hatchets for Traffick with the *Indians*) but with much chopping and cutting knotty hard Wood, they were all full of Notches and dull, and tho' I had a Grindſtone, I could not turn it and grind my Tools too; this coſt me as much Thought as a Stateſman would have beſtow'd upon a grand Point of Politicks, or a Judge upon the Life and Death of a Man. At length I contriv'd a Wheel with a String, to turn it with my Foot, that I might have both my Hands at Liberty: *Note*, I had never ſeen any ſuch thing in *England*, or at leaſt not to take Notice how it was done, tho' ſince I have

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have obſerv'd it is very common there: Beſides that, my Grind-ſtone was very large and heavy. This Machine coſt me a full Week's Work to bring it to Perfection.

April 28, 29. Theſe two whole Days I took up in grinding my Tools, my Machine for turning my Grind-ſtone performing very well.

April 30. Having perceiv'd my Bread had been low a great while, now I took a Survey of it, and reduc'd myſelf to one Biſket-cake a Day, which made my Heart very heavy.

May 1. In the Morning looking towards the Sea-ſide, the Tide being low, I ſaw ſomething lie on the Shore bigger than ordinary; and it look'd like a Cask; when I came to it, I found a ſmall Barrel, and two or three Pieces of the Wreck of the Ship, which were driven on Shore by the late Hurricane; and looking towards the Wreck itſelf, I thought it ſeem'd to lie higher out of the Water, that it us'd to do; I examin'd the Barrel which was driven on Shore, and ſoon found it was a Barrel of Gun-powder; but it had taken Water, and the Powder was cak'd as hard as a Stone; however I roll'd it farther on Shore for the preſent, and went on upon the Sands as near as I could to the Wreck of the Ship to look for more.

When I came down to the Ship, I found it ſtrangely remov'd; the Fore-caſtle, which lay before bury'd in Sand, was heav'd up at leaſt ſix Foot; and the Stern, which was broke to pieces, and parted from the reſt by the Force of the Sea ſoon after I had left rummaging her, was toſs'd, as it were, up, and caſt on one Side, and the Sand was thrown ſo high on that ſide next her Stern, that whereas there was a great Place of Water before, ſo that I could not come within a Quarter of a Mile of the Wreck without ſwimming, I could now walk

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quite up to her when the Tide was out; I was surpriz'd with this at first, but soon concluded it must be done by the Earthquake: And as by this Violence the Ship was more broken open than formerly, so many Things came daily on Shore, which the Sea had loosen'd, and which the Winds and Water rolled by degrees to the Land.

This wholly diverted my Thoughts from the Design of removing my Habitation; and I busied myself mightily, that Day especially, in searching whether I could make any way into the Ship; but I found nothing was to be expected of that kind, for that all the Inside of the Ship was choak'd up with Sand; However, as I had learnt not to despair of any thing, I resolv'd to pull every thing to pieces that I could of the Ship, concluding, that every thing I could get from her, would be of some Use or other to me.

May 3. I begun with my Saw, and cut a Piece of a Beam thro', which I thought held some of the upper Part or Quarter-Deck together, and when I had cut it thro', I clear'd away the Sand as well as I could from the Side which lay highest; but the Tide coming in, I was obliged to give over for that Time.

May 4. I went a fishing, but caught not one Fish that I durst eat of, till I was weary of my Sport; when just going to leave off, I caught a young Dolphin. I had made me a long Line of some Rope Yarn, but I had no Hooks, yet I frequently caught Fish enough, as much as I car'd to eat; all which I dry'd in the Sun, and eat them dry.

May 5. Work'd on the Wreck, cut another Beam asunder, and brought three great Fir Planks off from the Decks, which I ty'd together, and made swim on Shore, when the Tide of Flood came on.

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May 6. Work'd on the Wreck, got several Iron Bolts out of her, and other Pieces of Iron-work; work'd very hard, and came Home very much tir'd, and had Thoughts of giving it over.

May 7. Went to the Wreck again, but with an Intent not to work; but found the Weight of the Wreck had broke itself down, the Beams being cut; that several Pieces of the Ship seem'd to lie loose, and the Inside of the Hold lay so open, that I could see into it, but almost full of Water and Sand.

May 8. Went to the Wreck, and carry'd an Iron Crow to wrench up the Deck, which lay now quite clear of the Water or Sand; I wrench'd open two Planks, and brought them on Shore also with the Tide: I left the Iron Crow in the Wreck for next Day.

May 9. Went to the Wreck, and with the Crow made Way into the Body of the Wreck, and felt several Casks, and loosen'd them with the Crow, but could not break them up; I felt also the Roll of *English* Lead, and could stir it, but it was too heavy to remove.

May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Went every Day to the Wreck, and got a great deal of Pieces of Timber, and Boards, or Plank, and 2 or 300 Weight of Iron.

May 15. I carry'd two Hatchets to try if I could not cut a Piece off of the Roll of Lead, by placing the Edge of one Hatchet, and driving it with the other; but as it lay about a Foot and a half in the Water, I could not make any Blow to drive the Hatchet.

May 16. It had blow'd hard in the Night, and the Wreck appear'd more broken by the Force of the Water; but I staid so long in the Woods to get Pidgeons for Food, that the Tide prevented me going to the Wreck that Day.

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May 17. I saw some pieces of the Wreck blown on Shore, at a great Distance, near two Miles off me, but resolv'd to see what they were, and found it was a Piece of the Head, but too heavy for me to bring away.

May 24. Every Day to this Day I work'd on the Wreck and with hard Labour I loosen'd some Things so much with the Crow, that the first blowing Tide several Casks floated out, and two of the Seamens Chests; but the Wind blowing from the Shore, nothing came to Land that Day, but Pieces of Timber, and a Hogshead which had some *Brazil* Pork in it, but the Salt-water and the Sand had spoil'd it.

I continu'd this Work every Day to the 15th of *June*, except the Time necessary to get Food, which I always appointed, during this Part of my Employment, to be when the Tide was up, that I might be ready when it was ebb'd out; and by this Time I had gotten Timber, and Plank, and Iron-work enough, to have built a good Boat, if I had known how; and also, I got at several Times, and in several Pieces, near 100 Weight of the Sheet-Lead.

June 16. Going down to the Sea-side, I found a large Tortoise or Turtle; this was the first I had seen, which it seems was only my Misfortune, not any Defect of the Place, or Scarcity; for had I happen'd to be on the other Side of the Island, I might have had Hundreds of them every Day, as I found afterwards; but perhaps had paid dear enough for them.

June 17. I spent in cooking the Turtle; I found in her threescore Eggs; and her Flesh was to me at that Time the most savoury and pleasant that ever I tasted in my Life, having had no Flesh, but

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but of Goats and Fowls, ſince I landed in this horrid Place.

June 18. Rain'd all Day, and I ſtay'd within. I thought at this Time the Rain felt Cold, and I was ſomething chilly, which I knew was not uſual it that Latitude.

June 19. Very ill, and ſhivering, as if the Weather had been cold.

June 20. No reſt all Night, violent Pains in my Head, and feveriſh.

June 21. Very ill, frighted almoſt to Death with the Apprehenſions of my ſad Condition, to be ſick, and no Help: Pray'd to GOD for the firſt Time ſince the Storm off of *Hull*, but ſcarce knew what I ſaid, or why; my Thoughts being all confuſed.

June 22. A little better, but under dreadful Apprehenſions of Sickneſs.

June 23. Very bad again, cold and ſhivering, and then a violent Head-ach.

June 24. Much better.

June 25. An Ague very violent; the Fit held me ſeven Hours, cold Fit, and hot, with faint Sweats after it.

June 26. Better; and having no Victuals to eat, took my Gun, but found myſelf very weak; however I kill'd a She-Goat, and with much Difficulty got it Home, and broil'd ſome of it, and eat; I wou'd fain have ſtew'd it, and made ſome Broth, but had no Pot.

June 27. The Ague again ſo violent, that I lay a-bed all Day, and neither eat or drank. I was ready to periſh for Thirſt, but ſo weak, I had not Strength to ſtand up, or to get myſelf any Water to drink: Pray'd to God again, but was light-headed, and when I was not, I was ſo ignorant, that I knew not what to ſay; only I lay and

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cry'd, *Lord look upon me, Lord pity me, Lord have Mercy upon me*; I ſuppoſe I did nothing elſe for two or three Hours, till the Fit wearing off, I fell aſleep, and did not wake till far in the Night; when I wak'd, I found myſelf much refreſh'd, but weak, and exceeding thirſty: However, as I had no Water in my whole Habitation, I was forc'd to lie till Morning, and went to ſleep again: In this ſecond Sleep, I had this terrible Dream.

I thought, that I was ſitting on the Ground on the Out-ſide of my Wall, where I ſat when the Storm blew after the Earthquake, and that I ſaw a Man deſcend from a great black Cloud, in a bright Flame of Fire, and light upon the Ground: He was all over as bright as a Flame, ſo that I could but juſt bear to look towards him; his Countenance was moſt inexpreſſibly dreadful, impoſſible for Words to deſcribe; when he ſtep'd upon the Ground with his Feet, I thought the Earth trembl'd, juſt as it had done before in the Earthquake, and all the Air look'd to my Apprehenſion, as if it had been fill'd with Flaſhes of Fire.

He was no ſooner landed upon the Earth, but he mov'd forward towards me, with a long Spear or Weapon in his Hand, to kill me; and when he came to a riſing Ground, at ſome Diſtance, he ſpoke to me, or I heard a Voice ſo terrible, that it is impoſſible to expreſs the Terror of it; all that I can ſay I underſtood was this, *Seeing all theſe Things have not brought thee to Repentance, now thou ſhalt die:* At which Words, I thought he lifted up the Spear that was in his Hand to kill me.

No one, that ſhall ever read this Account, will expect that I ſhould be able to deſcribe the Horrors of my Soul at this terrible Viſion, I mean, that even while it was a Dream, I even dreamed of thoſe Horrors; nor is it any more poſſible to deſcribe the

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the Impreſſion that remain'd upon my Mind, when I awak'd, and found it was but a Dream.

I had alas! no divine Knowledge; what I had receiv'd by the good Inſtruction of my Father was then worn out by an uninterrupted Series, for 8 Years, of ſeafaring Wickedneſs, and a conſtant Converſation with nothing but ſuch as were like myſelf, wicked and prophane to the laſt Degree: I do not remember that I had in all that time one Thought that ſo much as tended either to looking upwards toward God, or inwards towards a Reflection upon my own Ways: But a certain Stupidity of Soul, without Deſire of Good, or Conſcience of Evil, had entirely overwhelm'd me, and I was all that the moſt hardned, unthinking, wicked Creature among our common Sailors can be ſuppos'd to be, not having the leaſt Senſe, either of the Fear of God in Danger, or of Thankfulneſs to God in Deliverances.

In the relating what is already paſt of my Story, this will be the more eaſily believed, when I ſhall add, that thro' all the Variety of Miſeries that had to this Day befallen me, I never had ſo much as one Thought of it being the Hand of God, or that it was a juſt Puniſhment for my Sin, my rebellious Behaviour againſt my Father, or my preſent Sins which were great; or ſo much as a Puniſhment for the general Courſe of my wicked Life. When I was on the deſperate Expedition on the deſert Shores of *Africa*, I never had ſo much as one Thought of what would become of me; or one Wiſh to God to direct me whither I ſhould go, or to keep me from the Danger which apparently ſurrounded me, as well from voracious Creatures as cruel Savages: But I was meerly thoughtleſs of a God, or a Providence; acted like a meer Brute from the Principles of Nature, and by the Dictates of common Senſe only, and indeed hardly that.

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When I was deliver'd and taken up at Sea by the *Portugal* Captain, well us'd, and dealt juſtly and honourably with, as well as charitably, I had not the leaſt Thankfulneſs on my Thoughts: When again I was ſhipwreck'd, ruin'd, and in danger of drowning on this Iſland, I was as far from Remorſe, or looking on it as a Judgment; I only ſaid to myſelf often, that I was *an unfortunate Dog*, and born to be always miſerable.

It is true, when I got on Shore firſt here, and found all my Ship's Crew drown'd, and my ſelf ſpar'd, I was ſurpriz'd with a kind of Extaſy, and ſome Tranſports of Soul, which, had the Grace of God aſſiſted, might have come up to true Thankfulneſs; but it ended where it begun, in a meer common Flight of Joy, or, as I may ſay, *being glad I was alive*, without the leaſt Reflection upon the diſtinguiſhing Goodneſs of the Hand which had preſerv'd me, and had ſingled me out to be preſerv'd, when all the reſt were deſtroy'd: or an Enquiry why Providence had been thus merciful to me; even juſt the ſame common ſort of Joy which Seamen generally have after they are got ſafe aſhore from a Shipwreck, which they drown all in the next Bowl of Punch, and forget almoſt as ſoon as it is over; and all the reſt of my Life was like it.

Even, when I was afterwards, on due Conſideration, made ſenſible of my Condition, how I was caſt on this dreadful Place, out of the Reach of humane Kind, out of all Hope of Relief, or Proſpect of Redemption, as ſoon as I ſaw but a Proſpect of living, and that I ſhould not ſtarve and periſh for Hunger, all the Senſe of my Affliction wore off, and I begun to be very eaſy, apply'd myſelf to the Works proper for my Preſervation and Supply, and was far enough from being afflicted at my Condition, as a Judgment from Heaven, or as the Hand

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Hand of God againſt me; theſe were Thoughts which very ſeldom enter'd into my Head.

The growing up of the Corn, as is hinted in my Journal, had at firſt ſome little Influence upon me, and began to affect me with Seriouſneſs, as long as I thought it had ſomething miraculous in it; but as ſoon as ever that part of the Thought was remov'd, all the Impreſſion which was rais'd from it, wore off alſo, as I have noted already.

Even the Earthquake, tho' nothing could be more terrible in its Nature, or more immediately directing to the inviſible Power, which alone directs ſuch things; yet no ſooner was the firſt Fright over, but the Impreſſion it had made went off alſo; I had no more Senſe of God or his Judgments, much leſs of the preſent Affliction of my Circumſtances being from his Hand, than if I had been in the moſt proſperous Condition of Life.

But now when I began to be ſick, and a leiſurely View of the Miſeries of Death came to place itſelf before me; when my Spirits began to ſink under the Burden of a ſtrong Diſtemper, and Nature was exhauſted with the Violence of the Fever; Conſcience that had ſlept ſo long, begun to awake, and I began to reproach myſelf with my paſt Life, in which I had ſo evidently, by uncommon Wickedneſs, provok'd the Juſtice of God to lay me under uncommon Strokes, and to deal with me in ſo vindictive a manner.

Theſe Reflections oppreſs'd me for the ſecond or third Day of my Diſtemper, and in the Violence, as well of the Fever, as of the dreadful Reproaches of my Conſcience, extorted ſome Words from me, like praying to God, tho' I cannot ſay they were either a Prayer attended with Deſires or with Hopes; it was rather the Voice of mere Fright and Diſtreſs; my Thoughts were confus'd, the

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Convictions great upon my Mind, and the Horror of dying in ſuch a miſerable Condition rais'd Vapours into my Head with the mere Apprehenſions; and in theſe Hurries of my Soul, I know not what my Tongue might expreſs; but it was rather Exclamation, ſuch as, *Lord! what a miſerable Creature am I? If I ſhould be ſick, I ſhall certainly die for want of Help, and what will become of me!* Then the Tears burſt out of my Eyes, and I could ſay no more for a good while.

In this Interval, the good Advice of my Father came to my Mind, and preſently his Prediction, which I mentioned at the Beginning of this Story, viz. *That if I did take this fooliſh Step, God would not bleſs me; and I would have leiſure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his Counſel, when there might be none to aſſiſt in my Recovery.* Now, ſaid I aloud, My dear Father's Words are come to paſs: God's Juſtice has overtaken me, and I have none to help or hear me: I rejected the Voice of Providence, which had mercifully put me in a Poſture or Station of Life, wherein I might have been happy and eaſy; but I would neither ſee it myſelf, or learn to know the Bleſſing of it from my Parents: I left them to mourn over my Folly, and now I am left to mourn under the Conſequences of it. I refus'd their Help and Aſſiſtance who would have lifted me into the World, and wou'd have made every thing eaſy to me, and now I have Difficulties to ſtruggle with, too great for even Nature itſelf to ſupport, and no Aſſiſtance, no Help, no Comfort, no Advice: Then I cry'd out, *Lord be my Help, for I am in great Diſtreſs.*

This was the firſt Prayer, if I may call it ſo, that I had made for many Years: But I return to my Journal.

June

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June 28. Having been somewhat refresh'd with the Sleep I had had, and the Fit being entirely off, I got up; and tho' the Fright and Terror of my Dream was very great, yet I consider'd, that the Fit of the Ague wou'd return again the next Day, and now was my Time to get something to refresh and support myself when I should be ill; and the first Thing I did, I fill'd a large square Case Bottle with Water, and set it upon my Table, in Reach of my Bed; and to take off the chill or aguish Dispositon of the Water, I put about a Quarter of a Pint of Rum into it, and mix'd them together; then I got me a Piece of the Goat's Flesh, and broil'd it on the Coals, but could eat very little; I walk'd about, but was very weak, and withal very sad and heavy-hearted in the Sense of my miserable Condition; dreading the Return of my Distemper the next Day; at Night I made my Supper of three of the Turtle's Eggs, which I roasted in the Ashes, and eat, as we call it, in the Shell; and this was the first Bit of Meat I had ever ask'd God's Blessing to, even as I cou'd remember in my whole Life.

After I had eaten, I try'd to walk, but found myself so weak that I cou'd hardly carry the Gun, (for I never went out without that;) so I went but a little Way, and sat down upon the Ground, looking out upon the Sea, which was just before me, and very calm and smooth: As I sat here, some such Thoughts as these occur'd to me.

What is this Earth and Sea of which I have seen so much, whence is it produc'd, and what am I, and all the other Creatures, wild and tame, humane and brutal, whence are we?

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Sure we are all made by ſome ſecret Power, who form'd the Earth and Sea, the Air and Sky; and who is that?

Then it follow'd moſt naturally, It is God that has made it all; Well, but then it came on ſtrangely, if God has made all theſe Things, He guides and governs them all, and all Things that concern them; for the Power that could make all Things, muſt certainly have Power to guide and direct them.

If ſo, nothing can happen in the great Circuit of his Works, either without his Knowledge or Appointment.

And if nothing happens without his Knowledge, he knows that I am here, and am in this dreadful Condition; and if nothing happens without his Appointment, he has appointed all this to befal me.

Nothing occur'd to my Thought to contradict any of theſe Concluſions; and therefore it reſted upon me with the greater Force, that it muſt needs be, that God had appointed all this to befal me; that I was brought to this miſerable Circumſtance by his Direction, he having the ſole Power, not of me only, but of every Thing that happen'd in the World. Immediately it follow'd,

Why has God done this to me? What have I done to be thus us'd?

My Conſcience preſently check'd me in that Enquiry, as if I had blaſphem'd, and methought it ſpoke to me like a Voice; *WRETCH! doſt thou ask what thou haſt done!* look back upon a dreadful miſ-ſpent Life, and ask thy ſelf *what thou haſt not done?* ask, Why is it *that thou wert not long ago deſtroy'd?* Why *wert thou not drown'd in* Yarmouth Roads? *Kill'd in the Fight when the Ship was taken by the* Salle Man of War? *Devour'd by the wild Beaſts*

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on the Coaſt of Africa? Or *Drown'd HERE, when all the Crew periſh'd but thy ſelf?* Doſt thou ask, *What have I done?*

I was ſtruck dumb with theſe Reflections, as one aſtoniſh'd, and had not a Word to ſay, no not to anſwer to myſelf, but roſe up penſive and ſad, walk'd back to my Retreat, and went up over my Wall, as if I had been going to Bed; but my Thoughts were ſadly diſturb'd, and I had no Inclination to ſleep; ſo I ſat down in my Chair, and lighted my Lamp, for it began to be dark: Now as the Apprehenſion of the Return of my Diſtemper terrify'd me very much, it occur'd to my Thought, that the *Braſilians* take no Phyſick but their Tobacco for almoſt all Diſtempers; and I had a Piece of a Roll of Tobacco in one of the Cheſts, which was quite cur'd, and ſome alſo that was green and not quite cur'd.

I went, directed by Heaven no doubt; for in this Cheſt I found a Cure both for Soul and Body; I open'd the Cheſt, and found what I look'd for, *viz.* the Tobacco; and as the few Books, I had ſav'd, lay there too, I took out one of the Bibles which I mention'd before, and which to this Time I had not found Leiſure, or ſo much as Inclination to look into; I ſay, I took it out, and brought both that and the Tobacco with me to the Table.

What Uſe to make of the Tobacco, I knew not, as to my Diſtemper, or whether it was good for it or no; but I try'd ſeveral Experiments with it, as if I was reſolv'd it ſhould hit one Way or other: I firſt took a Piece of a Leaf, and chew'd it in my Mouth, which indeed at firſt almoſt ſtupify'd my Brain, the Tobacco being green and ſtrong, and that I had not been much us'd to it; then I took ſome and ſteep'd it an Hour or two in ſome Rum, and reſolv'd to take a Doſe of it when I lay down;

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and laſtly, I burnt ſome upon a Pan of Coals, and held my Noſe cloſe over the Smoke of it as long as I could bear it, as well for the Heat as almoſt for Suffocation.

In the Interval of this Operation, I took up the Bible and began to read, but my Head was too much diſturb'd with the Tobacco to bear reading, at leaſt that Time; only having open'd the Book caſually, the firſt Words that occur'd to me were theſe, *Call on me in the Day of Trouble, and I will deliver, and thou ſhalt glorify me.*

The Words were very apt to my Caſe, and made ſome Impreſſion upon my Thoughts at the Time of reading them, tho' not ſo much as they did afterwards; for as for being deliver'd, the Word had no Sound, *as I may ſay*, to me; the Thing was ſo remote, ſo impoſſible in my Apprehenſion of Things, that I began to ſay as the Children of *Iſrael* did, when they were promis'd Fleſh to eat, *Can God ſpread a Table in the Wilderneſs?* ſo I began to ſay, Can God himſelf deliver me from this Place? and as it was not for many Years that any Hope appear'd, this prevail'd very often upon my Thoughts: But however, the Words made a great Impreſſion upon me, and I muſed upon them very often. It grew now late, and the Tobacco had, as I ſaid, doz'd my Head ſo much, that I inclin'd to ſleep; ſo I left my Lamp burning in the Cave, leſt I ſhould want any Thing in the Night, and went to Bed; but before I lay down, I did what I never had done in all my Life, I kneel'd down and pray'd to God to fulfil the Promiſe to me, that if I call'd upon him in the Day of Trouble, he would deliver me; after my broken and imperfect Prayer was over, I drunk the Rum in which I had ſteep'd the Tobacco, which was ſo ſtrong and rank of the Tobacco, that indeed I could ſcarce get it down; immediately upon

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upon this I went to Bed, I found presently it flew up in my Head violently, but I fell into a sound Sleep, and wak'd no more, till by the Sun it must necessarily be near three a-Clock in the Afternoon the next Day; nay, to this Hour I'm partly of the Opinion, that I slept all the next Day and Night, and till almost three that Day after; for otherwise I knew not how I should lose a Day out of my Reckoning in the Days of the Week, as it appear'd some Years after I had done; For if I had lost it by crossing and recrossing the Line, I should have lost more than one Day: But certainly I lost a Day in my Account, and never knew which Way.

Be that however one way or t'other, when I awak'd I found myself exceedingly refresh'd, and my Spirits lively and cheerful; when I got up, I was stronger than I was the Day before, and my Stomach better, for I was hungry; and in short, I had no Fit the next Day, but continu'd much alter'd for the better; this was the 29th.

The 30th was my Well-day of course, and I went abroad with my Gun, but did not care to travel too far. I kill'd a Sea-Fowl or two, something like a Brand-Goose, and brought them home, but was not very forward to eat them; so I eat some more of the Turtle's Eggs, which were very good; This Evening I renew'd the Medicine which I had suppos'd did me good the day before, *viz.* the Tobacco steep'd in Rum, only I did not take so much as before, nor did I chew any of the Leaf, or hold my Head over the Smoke; however, I was not so well the next Day, which was the first of *July*, as I hop'd I should have been; for I had a little Spice of the cold Fit, but it was not much.

July 2. I renew'd the Medicine all the three Ways, and dos'd my self with it as at first; and doubled the Quantity which I drank.

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3. I miss'd the Fit for good and all, tho' I did not recover my full Strength for some Weeks after: While I was thus gathering Strength, my Thoughts run exceedingly upon this Scripture, *I will deliver thee*; and the Impossibility of my Deliverance lay much upon my Mind in Bar of my ever expecting it: But as I was discouraging myself with such Thoughts, it occurr'd to my Mind, that I pored so much upon my Deliverance from the main Affliction, that I disregarded the Deliverance I had receiv'd; and I was, as it were, made to ask my self such Questions as these, *viz.* Have I not been deliver'd, and wonderfully too, from Sickness? from the most distressed Condition that could be, and that was so frightful to me, and what Notice had I taken of it? Had I done my part, *God had delivered me; but I had not glorified him*; that is to say, I had not own'd and been thankful for that as a Deliverance, and how could I expect greater Deliverance?

This touch'd my Heart very much, and immediately I kneel'd down, and gave God Thanks aloud for my Recovery from my Sickness.

July 4. In the Morning I took the Bible, and beginning at the New Testament, I began seriously to read it, and impos'd upon myself to read awhile every Morning and every Night, not tying myself to the Number of Chapters, but as long as my Thoughts should engage me: It was not long after I set seriously to this Work, but I found my Heart more deeply and sincerely affected with the Wickedness of my past Life: The Impression of my Dream reviv'd, and the Words, *All these things have not brought thee to Repentance*, ran seriously in my Thought: I was earnestly begging of God to give me Repentance, when it happen'd providentially the very Day that reading the Scripture,

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ture, I came to these Words, *He is exalted a Prince and a Saviour, to give Repentance, and to give Remission.* I threw down the Book, and with my Heart as well as my Hands lifted up to Heaven, in a Kind of Extasy of Joy, I cry'd out aloud, Jesus, *thou Son of* David, Jesus, *thou exalted Prince and Saviour, give me Repentance!*

This was the first Time that I could say, in the true Sense of the Words, that I pray'd in all my Life; for now I pray'd with a Sense of my Condition, and with a true Scripture View of Hope founded on the Encouragement of the Word of God; and from this Time, I may say, I began to have Hope that God would hear me.

Now I began to construe the Words mentioned above, *Call on me, and I will deliver you*, in a different Sense from what I had ever done before; for then I had no Notion of any thing being call'd Deliverance, but my being deliver'd from the Captivity I was in; for tho' I was indeed at large in the Place, yet the Island was certainly a Prison to me, and that in the worst Sense in the World; but now I learn'd to take it in another Sense: Now I look'd back upon my past Life with such Horror, and my Sins appear'd so dreadful, that my Soul sought nothing of God, but Deliverance from the Load of Guilt that bore down all my Comfort: As for my solitary Life it was nothing; I did not so much as pray to be deliver'd from it, or think of it; it was all of no Consideration in Comparison to this; And I add this Part here, to hint to whoever shall read it, that whenever they come to a true Sense of things, they will find Deliverance from Sin a much greater Blessing, than Deliverance from Affliction.

But leaving this Part, I return to my Journal.

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My Condition began now to be, tho' not leſs miſerable as to my Way of living, yet much eaſier to my Mind; and my Thoughts being directed, by a conſtant reading the Scripture and praying to God, to things of a higher Nature; I had a great deal of Comfort within, which till now I knew nothing of; alſo, as my Health and Strength returned, I beſtir'd myſelf to furniſh myſelf with every thing that I wanted, and make my Way of living as regular as I could.

From the 4th of *July* to the 14th, I was chiefly employ'd in walking about with my Gun in my Hand, a little and a little at a Time, as a Man that was gathering up his Strength after a Fit of Sickneſs: For it is hardly to be imagin'd, how low I was, and to what Weakneſs I was reduc'd. The Application which I made Uſe of was perfectly new, and perhaps what had never cur'd an Ague before, neither can I recommend it to any one to practiſe, by this Experiment; and tho' it did carry off the Fit, yet it rather contributed to weakening me; for I had frequent Convulſions in my Nerves and Limbs for ſome Time.

I learnt from it alſo this in particular, that being abroad in the rainy Seaſon was the moſt pernicious thing to my Health that could be, eſpecially in thoſe Rains which came attended with Storms and Hurricanes of Wind; for as the Rain which came in the dry Seaſon was always moſt accompany'd with ſuch Storms, ſo I found that Rain was much more dangerous than the Rain which fell in *September* and *October*.

I had been now in this unhappy Iſland almoſt 10 Months, all Poſſibility of Deliverance from this Condition ſeem'd to be entirely taken from me; and I firmly believed, that no humane Shape had ever ſet Foot upon that Place: Having now ſecur'd my

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my Habitation, as I thought, fully to my Mind, I had a great Deſire to make a more perfect Diſcovery of the Iſland, and to ſee what other Productions I might find, which I yet knew nothing of.

It was the 15th of *July* that I began to take a more particular Survey of the Iſland it ſelf: I went up the Creek firſt, where, as I hinted, I brought my Rafts on Shore; I found after I came about two Miles up, that the Tide did not flow any higher, and that it was no more than a little Brook of running Water, and very freſh and good; but this being the dry Seaſon, there was hardly any Water in ſome Parts of it, at leaſt, not enough to run in any Stream, ſo as it could be perceiv'd.

On the Bank of this Brook I found many pleaſant *Savana*'s, or Meadows, plain, ſmooth, and cover'd with Graſs; and on the riſing Parts of them next to the higher Grounds, where the Water, as it might be ſuppoſed, never overflow'd, I found a great deal of Tobacco, green and growing to a great and very ſtrong Stalk; there were divers other Plants which I had no Notion of, or Underſtanding about, and might perhaps have Virtues of their own, which I could not find out.

I ſearched for the *Caſſava* Root, which the *Indians* in all that Climate make their Bread of, but I could find none. I ſaw large Plants of Aloes, but did not then underſtand them. I ſaw ſeveral Sugar Canes, but wild, and for want of Cultivation, imperfect. I contented myſelf with theſe Diſcoveries for this Time, and came back muſing with my ſelf what Courſe I might take to know the Virtue and Goodneſs of any of the Fruits or Plants which I ſhould diſcover; but could bring it to no Concluſion; for in ſhort, I had made ſo little Obſervation while I was in the *Braſils*, that I knew little

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of the Plants in the Field, at leaſt very little that might ſerve me to any Purpoſe now in my Diſtreſs.

The next Day, the 16th, I went up the ſame Way again, and after going ſomething farther than I had gone the Day before, I found the Brook, and the *Savana's* began to ceaſe, and the Country became more woody than before; in this Part I found different Fruits, and particularly I found Melons upon the Ground in great Abundance; and Grapes upon the Trees; the Vines had ſpread indeed over the Trees, and the Cluſters of Grapes were juſt now in their Prime, very ripe and rich: This was a ſurpriſing Diſcovery, and I was exceeding glad of them; but I was warn'd by my Experience to eat ſparingly of them, remembring, that when I was aſhore in *Barbary*, the eating of Grapes kill'd ſeveral of our *Engliſh* Men who were Slaves there, by throwing them into Fluxes and Fevers: But I found an excellent Uſe for the Grapes, and that was to cure or dry them in the Sun, and keep them as dry'd Grapes or Raiſins are kept, which I thought would be, as indeed they were, as wholeſome as agreeable to eat, when no Grapes could be had.

I ſpent all that Evening there, and went not back to my Habitation, which by the way was the firſt Night, as I might ſay, I had lain from Home. In the Night I took my firſt Contrivance, and got up into a Tree, where I ſlept well, and the next Morning proceeded upon my Diſcovery, travelling near four Miles, as I might judge by the length of the Valley, keeping ſtill due North, with a Ridge of Hills on the South, and Eaſt ſide of me.

At the End of this March I came to an Opening, where the Country ſeem'd to deſcend to the Weſt,

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West, and a little Spring of fresh Water, which issued out of the Side of the Hill by me, run the other way, that is due East; and the Country appear'd so fresh, so green, so flourishing, every thing being in a constant Verdure, or Flourish of *Spring*, that it look'd like a planted Garden.

I descended a little on the Side of that delicious Vale, surveying it with a secret Kind of Pleasure, (tho' mixt with my other afflicting Thoughts) to think that this was all my own, that I was King and Lord of all this Country indefeasibly, and had a Right of Possession; and if I could convey it, I might have it in Inheritance, as compleatly as any Lord of a Manor in *England*. I saw here Abundance of Cocoa Trees, Orange, and Lemon, and Citron Trees; but all wild, and very few bearing any Fruit, at least not then: However the green Limes that I gathered, were not only pleasant to eat, but very wholesome; and I mix'd their Juice afterwards with Water, which made it very wholesome, and very cool, and refreshing.

I found now I had Business enough to gather and carry Home; and I resolv'd to lay up a Store, as well of Grapes, as Limes and Lemons, to furnish myself for the wet Season, which I knew was approaching.

In order to this, I gather'd a great Heap of Grapes in one Place, and a lesser Heap in another Place, and a great Parcel of Limes and Lemons in another Place; and taking a few of each with me, I travell'd homeward, and resolv'd to come again, and bring a Bag or Sack, or what I could make to carry the rest Home.

Accordingly, having spent three Days in this Journey, I came Home; so I must now call my Tent and my Cave: But before I got thither, the

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Grapes were ſpoil'd, the Richneſs of the Fruits, and the Weight of the Juice having broken them, and bruis'd them, they were good for little or nothing; as to the Limes they were good, but I could bring but a few.

The next Day, being the 19th, I went back, having made me two ſmall Bags to bring Home my Harveſt: But I was ſurpriz'd, when coming to my Heap of Grapes, which were ſo rich and fine when I gather'd them, I found them all ſpread about, trod to Pieces, and drag'd about, ſome here, ſome there, and Abundance eaten and devour'd: By this I concluded, there were ſome wild Creatures thereabouts, which had done this; but what they were I knew not.

However, as I found that there was no laying them up on Heaps, and no carrying them away in a Sack, but that one Way they would be deſtroy'd, and the other way they would be cruſh'd with their own Weight, I took another Courſe; for I gather'd a large Quantity of the Grapes, and hung them up upon the out Branches of the Trees, that they might cure and dry in the Sun; and as for the Limes and Lemons, I carry'd as many back as I could well ſtand under.

When I came Home from this Journey; I contemplated with great Pleaſure the Fruitfulneſs of that Valley, and the Pleaſantneſs of the Situation, the Security from Storms on that Side the Water, and the Wood, and concluded, that I had pitch'd upon a Place to fix my Abode, which was by far the worſt Part of the Country. Upon the whole I began to conſider of removing my Habitation; and to look out for a Place equally ſafe, as where I now was ſituate, if poſſible, in that pleaſant fruitful Part of the Iſland.

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This Thought run long in my Head, and I was exceeding fond of it for some Time; the Pleasantness of the Place tempting me; but when I came to a nearer View of it, and to consider that I was now by the Sea-Side, where it was at least possible that something might happen to my Advantage, and by the same ill Fate that brought me hither, might bring some other unhappy Wretches to the same Place; and tho' it was scarce probable that any such Thing should ever happen, yet to enclose myself among the Hills and Woods, in the Center of the Island, was to anticipate my Bondage, and to render such an Affair not only improbable, but impossible; and that therefore I ought not by any Means to remove.

However, I was so enamour'd of this Place, that I spent much of my Time there for the whole remaining Part of the Month of *July*; and tho' upon second Thoughts I resolv'd as above, not to remove, yet I built me a little kind of a Bower, and surrounded it at a Distance with a strong Fence, being a double Hedge, as high as I could reach, well stak'd, and fill'd between with *Brush-wood*; and here I lay very secure, sometimes two or three Nights together, always going over it with a Ladder, as before; so that I fancy'd now I had my Country House, and my Sea-Coast-House: And this Work took me up to the Beginning of *August*.

I had but newly finish'd my Fence, and began to enjoy my Labour, when the Rains came on, and made me stick close to my first Habitation; for tho' I had made me a Tent like the other, with a Piece of a Sail, and spread it very well; yet I had not the Shelter of a Hill to keep me from Storms, nor a Cave behind me to retreat into, when the Rains were extraordinary.

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About the beginning of *August*, *as I said*, I had finish'd my Bower, and began to enjoy myself. The third of *August*, I found the Grapes I had hung up were perfectly dry'd, and, indeed, were excellent good Raisins of the Sun; so I began to take them down from the Trees, and it was very happy that I did so; for the Rains which follow'd would have spoil'd them, and I had lost the best Part of my Winter Food; for I had above two hundred large Bunches of them. No sooner had I taken them all down, and carry'd most of them Home to my Cave, but it began to rain, and from hence, which was the fourteenth of *August*, it rain'd more or less, every Day, till the middle of *October*; and sometimes so violently, that I could not stir out of my Cave for several Days.

In this Season I was much surpriz'd with the Increase of my Family; I had been concern'd for the Loss of one of my Cats, who run away from me, or as I thought had been dead, and I heard no more Tale or Tidings of her, till to my Astonishment she came Home about the End of *August*, with three *Kittens*. This was the more strange to me, because tho' I had kill'd a wild Cat, as I call'd it, with my Gun; yet I thought it was a quite differing Kind from our *European* Cats; yet the young Cats were the same Kind of House breed like the old one; and both my Cats being Females, I thought it very strange: But from these three Cats, I afterwards came to be so pester'd with Cats, that I was forc'd to kill them like Vermin, or wild Beasts, and to drive them from my House as much as possible.

From the fourteenth of *August* to the twenty sixth was incessant Rain, so that I could not stir, and was now very careful not to be much wet. In this Confinement I began to be straitned for Food, but venturing

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venturing out twice, I one Day kill'd a Goat, and the last Day, which was the twenty sixth, found a very large Tortoise, which was a Treat to me, and my Food was regulated thus; I eat a Bunch of Raisins for my Breakfast, a Piece of the Goat's Flesh, or of the Turtle for my Dinner broil'd; for to my great Misfortune, I had no Vessel to boil or stew any Thing; and two or three of the Turtle's Eggs for my Supper.

During this Confinement in my Cover by the Rain, I work'd daily two or three Hours at enlarging my Cave, and by Degrees work'd it on towards one Side, till I came to the Outside of the Hill, and made a Door or Way out, which came beyond my Fence or Wall, and so I came in and out this Way; but I was not perfectly easy at lying so open; for as I had manag'd myself before, I was in a perfect Enclosure, whereas now I thought I lay expos'd, and open for any Thing to come in upon me; and yet I could not perceive that there was any living Thing to fear, the biggest Creature that I had yet seen upon the Island being a Goat.

September the thirtieth, I was now come to the unhappy Anniversary of my Landing. I cast up the Notches on my Post, and found I had been on Shore three hundred and sixty five Days. I kept this Day as a Solemn Fast, setting it apart to Religious Exercise, prostrating myself on the Ground with the most serious Humiliation, confessing my Sins to God, acknowledging his Righteous Judgments upon me, and praying to him to have Mercy on me, through *Jesus Christ*; and having not tasted the least Refreshment for twelve Hours, even till the going down of the Sun, I then eat a Bisket Cake, and a Bunch of Grapes, and went to Bed, finishing the Day as I began it.

I had

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I had all this Time obſerv'd no Sabbath-Day; for as at firſt I had no Senſe of Religion upon my Mind, I had after ſome Time omitted to diſtinguiſh the Weeks, by making a longer Notch than ordinary for the Sabbath-Day, and ſo did not really know what any of the Days were; but now having caſt up the Days, as above, I found I had been there a Year; ſo I divided it into Weeks, and ſet apart every ſeventh Day for a Sabbath; though I found at the End of my Account I had loſt a Day or two in my Reckoning.

A little after this my Ink began to fail me, and ſo I contented myſelf to uſe it more ſparingly, and to write down only the moſt remarkable Events of my Life, without continuing a daily *Memorandum* of other Things.

The rainy Seaſon, and the dry Seaſon, began now to appear regular to me, and I learnt to divide them ſo, as to provide for them accordingly. But I bought all my Experience before I had it; and this I am going to relate, was one of the moſt diſcouraging Experiments that I made at all. I have mention'd that I had ſav'd the few Ears of Barley and Rice, which I had ſo ſurprizingly found ſpring up, as I thought, of themſelves, and believe there were about thirty Stalks of Rice, and about twenty of Barley; and now I thought it a proper Time to ſow it after the Rains, the Sun being in its *Southern* Poſition going from me.

Accordingly I dug up a Piece of Ground as well as I could with my wooden Spade, and dividing it into two Parts, I ſow'd my Grain; but as I was ſowing, it caſually occur'd to my Thoughts, that I would not ſow it all at firſt, becauſe I did not know when was the proper Time for it; ſo I ſow'd about two Thirds of the Seed, leaving about a handful of each.

It

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It was a great Comfort to me afterwards, that I did ſo, for not one Grain of that I ſow'd this Time came to any Thing; for the dry Months following, the Earth having had no Rain after the Seed was ſown, it had no Moiſture to aſſiſt its Growth, and never came up at all, till the wet Seaſon had come again, and then it grew as if it had been but newly ſown.

Finding my firſt Seed did not grow, which I eaſily imagin'd was by the Drought, I ſought for a moiſter Piece of Ground to make another Trial in, and I dug up a Piece of Ground near my new Bower, and ſow'd the reſt of my Seed in *February*, a little before the *Vernal Equinox*; and this having the rainy Months of *March* and *April* to water it, ſprung up very pleaſantly, and yielded a very good Crop; but having Part of the Seed left only, and not daring to ſow all that I had, I had but a ſmall Quantity at laſt, my whole Crop not amounting to above half a Peck of each kind.

But by this Experiment I was made Maſter of my Buſineſs, and knew exactly when the proper Seaſon was to ſow; and that I might expect two Seed Times, and two Harveſts every Year.

While this Corn was growing, I made a little Diſcovery which was of Uſe to me afterwards; As ſoon as the Rains were over, and the Weather began to ſettle, which was about the Month of *November*, I made a Viſit up the Country to my Bower, where though I had not been ſome Months, yet I found all Things juſt as I left them. The Circle or double Hedge that I had made, was not only firm and entire; but the Stakes which I had cut out of ſome Trees that grew thereabouts, were all ſhot out and grown with long Branches, as much as a Willow-Tree uſually ſhoots the firſt Year after lopping its Head. I could not tell what Tree to call

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call it, that these Stakes were cut from. I was surpriz'd, and yet very well pleas'd, to see the young Trees grow; and I prun'd them, and led them up to grow as much alike as I could; and it is scarce credible how beautiful a Figure they grew into in three Years; so that though the Hedge made a Circle of about twenty five Yards in Diameter, yet the Trees, for such I might now call them, soon cover'd it; and it was a compleat Shade, sufficient to lodge under all the dry Season.

This made me resolve to cut some more Stakes, and make me a Hedge like this in a Semicircle round my Wall; I mean that of my first Dwelling, which I did; and placing the Trees or Stakes in a double Row, at about eight Yards distance from my first Fence, they grew presently, and were at first a fine Cover to my Habitation, and afterward serv'd for a Defence also, as I shall observe in its Order.

I found now, That the Seasons of the Year might generally be divided, not into *Summer* and *Winter*, as in *Europe*; but into the Rainy Seasons, and the Dry Seasons, which were generally thus:

Half *February*, *March*, Half *April*, } Rainy, the *Sun* being then on, or near the *Equinox*.

Half *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, Half *August*, } Dry, the *Sun* being then to the *North* of the Line.

Half

Half *August*, *September*, Half *October*, } Rainy, the *Sun* being then come back.

Half *October*, *November*, *December*, *January*, Half *February*, } Dry, the *Sun* being then to the *South* of the Line.

The Rainy Season sometimes held longer or shorter, as the Winds happen'd to blow; but this was the general Observation I made: After I had found, by Experience, the ill Consequence of being abroad in the Rain, I took care to furnish myself with Provisions beforehand, that I might not be oblig'd to go out; and I sat within Doors as much as possible during the wet Months.

In this Time I found much Employment, (and very suitable also to the Time) for I found great Occasion of many Things which I had no way to furnish myself with, but by hard Labour and constant Application; particularly, I try'd many Ways to make myself a Basket, but all the Twigs I could get for the Purpose prov'd so brittle, that they would do nothing. It prov'd of excellent Advantage to me now, That when I was a Boy, I used to take great Delight in standing at a *Basket-maker's* in the Town where my Father liv'd, to see them make their *Wicker-ware*; and being, as Boys usually are, very officious to help, and a great Observer of the Manner how they work'd those Things, and sometimes lending a Hand, I had by this Means full Knowledge of the Methods of it, that I wanted nothing but the Materials; when it came into my Mind, That the Twigs of that Tree from whence I cut my Stakes that grew,

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might possibly be as tough as the *Sallows*, and *Willows*, and *Osiers* in *England*, and I resolv'd to try.

Accordingly the next Day I went to my Country-House, as I call'd it, and cutting some of the smaller Twigs, I found them to my Purpose as much as I could desire; whereupon I came the next Time prepar'd with a Hatchet to cut down a Quantity, which I soon found, for there was great Plenty of them; these I set up to dry within my Circle or Hedge, and when they were fit for Use, I carried them to my Cave, and here during the next Season I employ'd my self in making, *as well as I could*, a great many Baskets, both to carry Earth, or to carry or lay up any Thing as I had occasion. And tho' I did not finish them very handsomly, yet I made them sufficiently serviceable for my Purpose; and thus afterwards I took Care never to be without them; and as my *Wicker-ware* decay'd, I made more, especially, I made strong deep Baskets to place my Corn in, instead of Sacks, when I should come to have any Quantity of it.

Having master'd this Difficulty, and employ'd a World of Time about it, I bestir'd myself to see if possible how to supply two Wants: I had no Vessels to hold any Thing that was Liquid, except two Runlets which were almost full of Rum, and some Glass Bottles, some of the common Size, and others which were Case-Bottles square, for the holding of Waters, Spirits, *&c.* I had not so much as a Pot to boil any Thing, except a great Kettle, which I sav'd out of the Ship, and which was too big for such Use as I desir'd it, *viz.* to make Broth, and stew a Bit of Meat by it self. The Second Thing I would fain have had, was a Tobacco-Pipe; but it was impossible to me to make

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make one, however I found a Contrivance for that too at last.

I employ'd myself in Planting my Second Rows of Stakes or Piles, and in this *Wicker*-working all the Summer, or dry Season, when another Business took me up more Time than it could be imagin'd I could spare.

I mention'd before, That I had a great Mind to see the whole Island, and that I had travell'd up the Brook, and so on to where I built my Bower, and where I had an Opening quite to the Sea on the other Side of the Island. I now resolv'd to travel quite cross to the Sea-Shore on that Side; so taking my Gun, a Hatchet, and my Dog, and a larger Quantity of Powder and Shot than usual, with two Bisket Cakes, and a great Bunch of Raisins in my Pouch for my Store, I began my Journey. When I had pass'd the Vale where my Bower stood as above, I came within View of the Sea, to the *West*, and it being a very clear Day, I fairly descry'd Land, whether an Island or a Continent, I could not tell; but it lay very high, extending from the *West* to the *W. S. W.* at a very great Distance; by my Guess it could not be less than Fifteen or Twenty Leagues off.

I could not tell what Part of the World this might be, otherwise than that I knew it must be part of *America*, and as I concluded by all my Observations, must be near the *Spanish* Dominions, and perhaps was all inhabited by Savages, where if I should have landed, I had been in a worse Condition than I was now; and therefore I acquiesced in the Dispositions of Providence, which I began now to own, and to believe, order'd every Thing for the best; I say, I quieted my Mind with this, and left afflicting myself with fruitless Wishes of being there.

Besides

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Besides, after some Pause upon this Affair, I consider'd, that if this Land was the *Spanish* Coast, I should certainly, one Time or other, see some Vessel pass or re-pass one Way or other; but if not, then it was the *Savage* Coast between the *Spanish* Country and *Brasils*, which are indeed the worst of *Savages*; for they are Cannibals, or Man-eaters, and fail not to murther and devour all the humane Bodies that fall into their Hands.

With these Considerations I walk'd very leisurely forward. I found that Side of the Island where I now was, much pleasanter than mine, the open or *Savana* Fields sweet, adorn'd with Flowers and Grass, and full of very fine Woods. I saw Abundance of Parrots, and fain I would have caught one, if possible to have kept it to be tame, and taught it to speak to me. I did, after some Pains taking, catch a young Parrot, for I knock'd it down with a Stick, and having recover'd it, I brought it home, but it was some Years before I could make him speak: However, at last I taught him to call me by my Name very familiarly: But the Accident that follow'd, tho' it be a Trifle, will be very diverting in its Place.

I was exceedingly diverted with this Journey: I found in the low Grounds Hares, as I thought them to be, and Foxes, but they differ'd greatly from all the other Kinds I had met with; nor could I satisfy myself to eat them, tho' I kill'd several: But I had no need to be venturous; for I had no Want of Food, and of that which was very good too; especially these three Sorts, *viz.* Goats, Pidgeons, and Turtle or Tortoise; which, added to my Grapes, *Leaden-hall Market* could not have furnish'd a Table better than I, in Proportion to the Company; and tho' my Case was deplorable enough, yet I had great Cause for Thankfulness, and

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that I was not driven to any Extremities for Food; but rather Plenty, even to Dainties.

I never travell'd in this Journey above two Miles outright in a Day, or thereabouts; but I took so many Turns and Returns, to see what Discoveries I could make, that I came weary enough to the Place where I resolved to sit down for all Night; and then I either repos'd myself in a Tree, or surrounded myself with a Row of Stakes set upright in the Ground, either from one Tree to another, or so as no wild Creature could come at me, without waking me.

As soon as I came to the Sea Shore, I was surprized to see that I had taken up my Lot on the worst side of the Island; for here indeed the Shore was cover'd with innumerable Turtles, whereas on the other side I had found but three in a Year and half. Here was also an infinite number of Fowls, of many Kinds, some which I had seen, and some which I had not seen of before, and many of them very good Meat; but such as I knew not the Names of, except those call'd *Penguins*.

I could have shot as many as I pleas'd, but was very sparing of my Powder and Shot; and therefore had more Mind to kill a She-Goat, if I could, which I could better feed on; and though there were many Goats here more than on my Side the Island, yet it was with much more Difficulty that I could come near them, the Country being flat and even, and they saw me much sooner than when I was on the Hill.

I confess this Side of the Country was much pleasanter than mine, but yet I had not the least Inclination to remove; for as I was fix'd in my Habitation, it became natural to me, and I seem'd all the while I was here, to be as it were upon a Journey, and from Home: However, I travell'd along

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the Shore of the Sea, towards the *East*, I ſuppoſe about twelve Miles; and then ſetting up a great Pole upon the Shore for a Mark, I concluded I would go home again; and that the next Journey I took ſhould be on the other Side of the Iſland, *East* from my Dwelling, and ſo round till I came to my Poſt again: Of which in its Place.

I took another Way to come back than that I went, thinking I could eaſily keep all the Iſland ſo much in my View, that I could not miſs finding my firſt Dwelling by viewing the Country; but I found my ſelf miſtaken; for being come about two or three Miles, I found my ſelf deſcended into a very large Valley; but ſo ſurrounded with Hills, and thoſe Hills covered with Wood, that I could not ſee which was my Way by any Direction but that of the Sun, nor even then, unleſs I knew very well the Poſition of the Sun at that Time of the Day.

It happened to my farther Misfortune, That the Weather prov'd hazey for three or four Days, while I was in this Valley; and not being able to ſee the Sun, I wander'd about very uncomfortably, and at laſt was obliged to find out the Sea Side, look for my Poſt, and come back the ſame Way I went; and then by eaſy Journeys I turn'd Homeward, the Weather being exceeding hot, and my Gun, Ammunition, Hatchet, and other Things very heavy.

In this Journey my Dog ſurpriz'd a young Kid, and ſeiz'd upon it, and I running in to take hold of it, caught it, and ſav'd it alive from the Dog: I had a great mind to bring it home if I could; for I had often been muſing, Whether it might not be poſſible to get a Kid or two, and ſo raiſe a Breed of tame Goats, which might ſupply me when my Powder and Shot ſhould be all ſpent.

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I made a Collar to this little Creature, and with a String which I made of ſome Rope-Yarn, which I always carry'd about me, I led him along, tho' with ſome Difficulty, till I came to my Bower, and there I enclos'd him, and left him; for I was very impatient to be at home, from whence I had been abſent above a Month.

I cannot expreſs what a Satisfaction it was to me, to come into my old Hutch, and lye down in my Hamock-Bed: This little wandring Journey, without ſettled Place of Abode, had been ſo unpleaſant to me, that my own Houſe, as I call'd it to my ſelf, was a perfect Settlement to me, compar'd to that; and it render'd every thing about me ſo comfortable, that I reſolv'd I would never go a great way from it again, while it ſhould be my Lot to ſtay on the Iſland.

I repos'd my ſelf here a Week, to reſt and regale my ſelf after my long Journey; during which, moſt of the Time was taken up in the weighty Affair of making a Cage for my Poll, who began now to be a mere Domeſtick, and to be mighty well acquainted with me. Then I began to think of the poor Kid, which I had penn'd in within my little Circle, and reſolv'd to go and fetch it home, or give it ſome Food; accordingly I went, and found it where I left it; for indeed it could not get out, but was almoſt ſtarv'd for want of Food. I went and cut Bows of Trees, and Branches of ſuch Shrubs as I could find, and threw it over, and having fed it, I ty'd it as I did before to lead it away; but it was ſo tame with being hungry, that I had no need to have ty'd it; for it follow'd me like a Dog; and as I continually fed it, the Creature became ſo loving, ſo gentle, and ſo fond, that it was from that Time one of my Domeſticks alſo, and would never leave me afterwards.

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The rainy Seaſon of the *Autumnal Equinox* was now come, and I kept the 30th of *September* in the ſame ſolemn manner as before, being the Anniverſary of my Landing on the Iſland, having now been there two Years, and no more Proſpect of being delivered than the firſt Day I came there. I ſpent the whole Day in humble and thankful Acknowledgments of the many wonderful Mercies which my Solitary Condition was attended with, and without which it might have been infinitely more miſerable. I gave humble and hearty Thanks that God had been pleaſed to diſcover to me, even that it was poſſible I might be more happy in this Solitary Condition, than I ſhould have been in a Liberty of Society, and in all the Pleaſures of the World. That He could fully make up to me the Deficiencies of my Solitary State, and the want of Humane Society, by his Preſence, and the Communications of his Grace to my Soul, ſupporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his Providence here, and hope for his eternal Preſence hereafter.

It was now that I began ſenſibly to feel how much more happy this Life I now led was, with all its miſerable Circumſtances, than the wicked, curſed, abominable Life I led all the paſt Part of my Days; and now I changed both my Sorrows and my Joys; my very Deſires alter'd, my Affections changed their Guſts, and my Delights were perfectly new, from what they were at my firſt Coming, or indeed for the two Years paſt.

Before, as I walk'd about either on my Hunting, or for viewing the Country, the Anguiſh of my Soul at my Condition, would break out upon me on a ſudden, and my very Heart would die within me, to think of the Woods, the Mountains, the Deſarts I was in; and how I was a Priſoner lock'd up with the eternal Bars and Bolts of the

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Ocean, in an uninhabited Wilderneſs, without Redemption: In the midſt of the greateſt Compoſures of my Mind, this would break out upon me like a Storm, and make me wring my Hands, and weep like a Child: Sometimes it would take me in the middle of my Work, and I would immediately ſit down and ſigh, and look upon the Ground for an Hour or two together; and this was ſtill worſe to me; for if I could burſt out into Tears, or vent my ſelf by Words, it would go off, and the Grief having exhauſted it ſelf, would abate.

But now I began to exerciſe my ſelf with new Thoughts; I daily read the Word of God, and apply'd all the Comforts of it to my preſent State. One Morning being very ſad, I open'd the Bible upon theſe Words, *I will never, never leave thee, nor forſake thee*; immediately it occurr'd, That theſe Words were to me, Why elſe ſhould they be directed in ſuch a Manner, juſt at the Moment when I was mourning over my Condition, as one forſaken of God and Man? Well then, ſaid I, if God does not forſake me, of what ill Conſequence can it be, or what matters it, though the World ſhould all forſake me, ſeeing on the other hand, if I had all the World, and ſhould loſe the Favour and Bleſſing of God, there would be no Compariſon in the Loſs?

From this Moment I began to conclude in my Mind, That it was poſſible for me to be more happy in this forſaken Solitary Condition, than it was probable I ſhould ever have been in any other particular State in the World; and with this Thought I was going to give Thanks to God for bringing me to this Place.

I know not what it was, but ſomething ſhock'd my Mind at that Thought, and I durſt not ſpeak the Words: How canſt thou be ſuch a Hypocrite,

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(ſaid I, even audibly) to pretend to be thankful for a Condition, which however thou may'ſt endeavour to be contented with, thou would'ſt rather pray heartily to be deliver'd from; ſo I ſtopp'd there: But though I could not ſay, I thank'd God for being there; yet I ſincerely gave Thanks to God for opening my Eyes, by whatever afflicting Providences, to ſee the former Condition of my Life, and to mourn for my Wickedneſs, and repent. I never open'd the Bible, or ſhut it, but my very Soul within me bleſs'd God for directing my Friend in *England*, without any Order of mine, to pack it up among my Goods; and for aſſiſting me afterwards to ſave it out of the Wreck of the Ship.

Thus, and in this Diſpoſition of Mind, I began my third Year; and tho' I have not given the Reader the Trouble of ſo particular Account of my Works this Year as the firſt; yet in general it may be obſerv'd, That I was very ſeldom idle; but having regularly divided my Time, according to the ſeveral daily Employments that were before me, ſuch as, *Firſt*, my Duty to God, and the Reading the Scriptures, which I conſtantly ſet apart ſome Time for thrice every Day. *Secondly*, The going abroad with my Gun for Food, which generally took me up three Hours in every Morning, when it did not rain. *Thirdly*, The ordering, curing, preſerving, and cooking what I had kill'd or catch'd for my Supply; theſe took up great Part of the Day: Alſo it is to be conſidered that the middle of the Day, when the Sun was in the *Zenith*, the Violence of the Heat was too great to ſtir out; ſo that about four Hours in the Evening was all the Time I could be ſuppos'd to work in, with this Exception, That ſometimes I chang'd my Hours of Hunting and Working, and went to work in the

Morning

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Morning, and abroad with my Gun in the Afternoon.

To this ſhort Time allow'd for Labour, I deſire may be added the exceeding Laborioufneſs of my Work; the many Hours which for want of Tools, want of Help, and want of Skill; every Thing I did, took up out of my Time. For example, I was full two and forty Days making me a Board for a long Shelf, which I wanted in my Cave; whereas two Sawyers with their Tools, and a Saw-Pit, would have cut ſix of them out of the ſame Tree in half a Day.

My Caſe was this: It was to be a large Tree, which was to be cut down, becauſe my Board was to be a broad one. This Tree I was three Days a cutting down, and two more cutting off the Bows, and reducing it to a Log or Piece of Timber. With inexpreſſible hacking and hewing I reduc'd both the Sides of it into Chips, till it begun to be light enough to move; then I turn'd it, and made one Side of it ſmooth and flat as a Board, from End to End; then turning that ſide downward, cut the other Side, till I brought the Plank to be about three Inches thick, and ſmooth on both Sides. Any one may judge the Labour of my Hands in ſuch a piece of Work; but Labour and Patience carry'd me through that and many other things: I only obſerve this in particular, to ſhew the Reaſon why ſo much of my Time went away with ſo little Work, *viz.* That what might be a little to be done with Help and Tools, was a vaſt Labour, and requir'd a prodigious Time to do alone, and by hand.

But notwithſtanding this, with Patience and Labour I went through many things; and indeed every thing that my Circumſtances made neceſſary to me to do, as will appear by what follows.

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I was now, in the Months of *November* and *December*, expecting my Crop of Barley and Rice. The Ground I had manur'd or dug up for them was not great; for as I obſerv'd, my Seed of each was not above the Quantity of half a Peck; for I had loſt one whole Crop by ſowing in the dry Seaſon; but now my Crop promis'd very well, when on a ſudden I found I was in danger of loſing it all again by Enemies of ſeveral Sorts, which it was ſcarce poſſible to keep from it; as Firſt, the Goats, and wild Creatures which I call'd Hares, who taſting the Sweetneſs of the Blade, lay in it Night and Day, as ſoon as it came up, and eat it ſo cloſe, that it could get no Time to ſhoot up into Stalk.

This I ſaw no Remedy for, but by making an Encloſure about it with a Hedge, which I did with a great deal of Toil; and the more, becauſe it requir'd Speed. However, as my Arable Land was but ſmall, ſuited to my Crop, I got it totally well fenc'd, in about three Weeks Time; and ſhooting ſome of the Creatures in the Day-time, I ſet my Dog to guard it in the Night, tying him up to a Stake at the Gate, where he would ſtand and bark all Night long; ſo in a little time the Enemies forſook the Place, and the Corn grew very ſtrong, and well, and began to ripen apace.

But as the Beaſts ruined me before, while my Corn was in the Blade; ſo the Birds were as likely to ruin me now, when it was in the Ear; for going along by the Place to ſee how it throve, I ſaw my little Crop ſurrounded with Fowls of I know not how many ſorts, who ſtood as it were watching till I ſhould be gone: I immediately let fly among them (for I always had my Gun with me) I had no ſooner ſhot but there roſe up a little Cloud

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Cloud of Fowls, which I had not ſeen at all, from among the Corn it ſelf.

This touch'd me ſenſibly, for I foreſaw, that in a few Days they would devour all my Hopes, that I ſhould be ſtarv'd, and never be able to raiſe a Crop at all, and what to do I could not tell: However, I reſolv'd not to loſe my Corn, if poſſible, tho' I ſhould watch it Night and Day. In the firſt Place, I went among it to ſee what Damage was already done, and found they had ſpoil'd a good deal of it, but that as it was yet too green for them, the Loſs was not ſo great, but that the Remainder was like to be a good Crop if it could be ſav'd.

I ſtaid by it to load my Gun, and then coming away I could eaſily ſee the Thieves ſitting upon all the Trees about me, as if they only waited till I was gone away, and the Event proved it to be ſo; for as I walk'd off as if I was gone, I was no ſooner out of their Sight, but they dropt down one by one into the Corn again. I was ſo provok'd that I could not have Patience to ſtay till more came on, knowing that every Grain that they eat now, was, *as it might be ſaid*, a Peck-loaf to me in the Conſequence; but coming up to the Hedge, I fir'd again, and kill'd three of them. This was what I wiſh'd for; ſo I took them up, and ſerv'd them as we ſerve notorious Thieves in *England* (*viz.*) hang'd them in Chains for a Terror to others. It is impoſſible to imagine almoſt, that this ſhould have ſuch an Effect as it had; for the Fowls wou'd not only not come at the Corn, but in ſhort they forſook all that Part of the Iſland, and I could never ſee a Bird near the Place as long as my Scare-Crows hung there.

This

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This I was very glad of, you may be ſure, and about the latter end of *December*, which was our ſecond Harveſt of the Year, I reap'd my Crop.

I was ſadly put to it for a Scythe or a Sickle to cut it down, and all I could do was to make one as well as I could out of one of the broad Swords or Cutlaſſes, which I ſav'd among the Arms out of the Ship. However, as my firſt Crop was but ſmall, I had no great Difficulty to cut it down; in ſhort, I reap'd it my way, for I cut nothing off but the Ears, and carry'd it away in a great Basket which I had made, and ſo rubb'd it out with my Hands; and at the End of all my Harveſting, I found that out of my half Peck of Seed, I had near two Buſhels of Rice, and above two Buſhels and half of Barley, *that is to ſay*, by my Gueſs, for I had no Meaſure at that time.

However, this was a great Encouragement to me; and I foreſaw that in time, it would pleaſe God to ſupply me with Bread: And yet here I was perplex'd again, for I neither knew how to grind or make Meal of my Corn, or indeed how to clean it and part it; nor if made into Meal, how to make Bread of it; and if how to make it, yet I knew not how to bake it: theſe things being added to my Deſire of having a good Quantity of Store, and to ſecure a conſtant Supply, I reſolv'd not to taſte any of this Crop, but to preſerve it all for Seed againſt the next Seaſon, and in the mean time to employ all my Study and Hours of Working to accompliſh this great Work of Providing my ſelf with Corn and Bread.

It might be truly ſaid, that now I work'd for my Bread: 'tis a little wonderful, and what I believe few People have thought much upon, (*viz.*) the ſtrange multitude of little Things neceſſary in the Pro-

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Providing, Producing, Curing, Dreſſing, Making and Finiſhing this one Article of Bread.

I that was reduced to a mere State of Nature, found this to my daily Diſcouragement, and was made more and more ſenſible of it every Hour, even after I had got the firſt Handful of Seed-Corn, which, as I have ſaid, came up unexpectedly, and indeed to a ſurprize.

Firſt, I had no Plow to turn up the Earth, no Spade or Shovel to dig it. Well, this I conquer'd, by making a wooden Spade, as I obſerv'd before; but this did my Work but in a wooden manner, and tho' it coſt me a great many Days to make it, yet for want of Iron it not only wore out the ſooner, but made my Work the harder, and made it be perform'd much worſe.

However, this I bore with, and was content to work it out with Patience, and bear with the badneſs of the Performance. When the Corn was ſow'd, I had no Harrow, but was forced to go over it my ſelf, and drag a great heavy Bough of a Tree over it, to Scratch it, as it may be call'd, rather than Rake or Harrow it.

When it was growing and grown, I have obſerv'd already, how many Things I wanted, to Fence it, Secure it, Mow or Reap it, Cure and Carry it home, Thraſh, Part it from the Chaff, and Save it. Then I wanted a Mill to Grind it, Sieves to Dreſs it, Yeaſt and Salt to make it into Bread, and an Oven to bake it; and yet all theſe things I did without, as ſhall be obſerv'd; and yet the Corn was an ineſtimable Comfort and Advantage to me too. All this, as I ſaid, made every thing laborious and tedious to me, but that there was no help for, neither was my Time ſo much Loſs to me, becauſe as I had divided it, a certain Part of it was every Day appointed to

theſe

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these Works; and as I resolv'd to use none of the Corn for Bread till I had a greater Quantity by me, I had the next six Months to apply my self wholly by Labour and Invention to furnish my self with Utensils proper for the performing all the Operations necessary for the making the Corn (when I had it) fit for my use.

But first, I was to prepare more Land, for I had now Seed enough to sow above an Acre of Ground. Before I did this, I had a Weeks-work at least to make me a Spade, which when it was done was but a sorry one indeed, and very heavy, and requir'd double Labour to work with it; however I went thro' that, and sow'd my Seed in two large flat Pieces of Ground, as near my House as I could find them to my Mind, and fenc'd them in with a good Hedge, the Stakes of which were all cut of that Wood which I had set before, and knew it would grow, so that in one Year's time I knew I should have a Quick or Living-Hedge, that would want but little Repair. This Work was not so little as to take me up less than three Months, because great Part of that time was of the wet Season, when I could not go abroad.

Within Doors, *that is*, when it rained, and I could not go out, I found Employment on the following Occasions; always observing, that all the while I was at work I diverted my self with talking to my Parrot, and teaching him to speak; and I quickly learn'd him to know his own Name, and at last to speak it out pretty loud, POLL, which was the first Word I ever heard spoken in the Island by any Mouth but my own. This therefore was not my Work, but an assistant to my Work; for now, as I said, I had a great Employment upon my Hands, as follows, *(viz.)* I had long

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long ſtudy'd, by ſome Means or other, to make my ſelf ſome Earthen Veſſels, which indeed I wanted ſorely, but knew not where to come at them: However, conſidering the Heat of the Climate, I did not doubt but if I could find out any ſuch Clay, I might botch up ſome ſuch Pot, as might, being dry'd in the Sun, be hard enough, and ſtrong enough to bear handling, and to hold any Thing that was dry, and requir'd to be kept ſo; and as this was neceſſary in the preparing Corn, Meal, &c. which was the Thing I was upon, I reſolv'd to make ſome as large as I could, and fit only to ſtand like Jarrs to hold what ſhould be put into them.

It would make the Reader pity me, or rather laugh at me, to tell how many awkward Ways I took to raiſe this Paſte, what odd miſhapen ugly things I made, how many of them fell in, and how many fell out, the Clay not being ſtiff enough to bear its own Weight; how many crack'd by the over violent Heat of the Sun, being ſet out too haſtily; and how many fell in pieces with only removing, as well before as after they were dry'd; and in a word, how after having laboured hard to find the Clay, to dig it, to temper it, to bring it home and work it; I could not make above two large earthen ugly things, I cannot call them Jarrs, in about two Months Labour.

However, as the Sun bak'd theſe two very dry and hard, I lifted them very gently up, and ſet them down again in two great Wicker-Baskets, which I had made on purpoſe for them, that they might not break; and as between the Pot and the Basket there was a little room to ſpare, I ſtuff'd it full of the Rice and Barley Straw, and theſe two Pots being to ſtand always dry, I thought would hold

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hold my dry Corn, and perhaps the Meal, when the Corn was bruiſed.

Tho' I miſcarried ſo much in my Deſign for large Pots, yet I made ſeveral ſmaller things with better Succeſs; ſuch as little round Pots, flat Diſhes, Pitchers and Pipkins, and any things my Hand turn'd to, and the Heat of the Sun bak'd them ſtrangely hard.

But all this would not anſwer my End, which was to get an Earthen Pot to hold what was Liquid, and bear the Fire, which none of theſe could do. It happen'd after ſome time, making a pretty large Fire for cooking my Meat, when I went to put it out after I had done with it, I found a broken Piece of one of my Earthen-ware Veſſels in the Fire, burnt as hard as a Stone, and red as a Tile. I was agreeably ſurpriz'd to ſee it, and ſaid to my ſelf, that certainly they might be made to burn whole, if they would burn broken.

This ſet me to ſtudying how to order my Fire, ſo as to make it burn me ſome Pots. I had no notion of a Kiln, ſuch as the Potters burn in, or of glazing them with Lead, tho' I had ſome Lead to do it with; but I plac'd three large Pipkins, and two or three Pots in a Pile one upon another, and plac'd my Fire-wood all round it, with a great Heap of Embers under them; I ply'd the Fire with freſh Fuel round the out-ſide, and upon the top, till I ſaw the Pots in the inſide red hot quite thro', and obſerv'd that they did not crack at all; when I ſaw them clear red, I let them ſtand in that Heat about 5 or 6 Hours, till I found one of them, tho' it did not crack, did melt or run; for the Sand which was mixed with the Clay melted by the violence of the Heat, and would have run into Glaſs if I had gone on; ſo I ſlack'd my Fire gradually, till the Pots began to abate of the red Colour

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Colour, and watching them all Night, that I might not let the Fire abate too faſt; in the Morning I had three very good, I will not ſay handſome Pipkins; and two other Earthen Pots, as hard burnt as cou'd be deſir'd; and one of them perfectly glaz'd with the running of the Sand.

After this Experiment, I need not ſay that I wanted no ſort of Earthen Ware for my Uſe; but I muſt needs ſay, as to the Shapes of them, they were very indifferent, as any one may ſuppoſe, when I had no way of making them; but as the Children make Dirt-Pies, or as a Woman would makes Pies that never learn'd to raiſe Paſte.

No Joy at a Thing of ſo mean a Nature was ever equal to mine, when I found I had made an Earthen Pot that would bear the Fire; and I had hardly Patience to ſtay till they were cold, before I ſet one upon the Fire again, with ſome Water in it, to boil me ſome Meat, which it did admirably well; and with a piece of a Kid I made ſome very good Broth, though I wanted Oatmeal, and ſeveral other Ingredients requiſite to make it ſo good as I would have had it been.

My next Concern was, to get me a Stone Mortar to ſtamp or beat ſome Corn in; for as to the Mill, there was no thought at arriving to that Perfection of Art, with one pair of Hands. To ſupply this Want I was at a great Loſs; for of all Trades in the World I was as perfectly unqualified for a Stone-Cutter, as for any whatever; neither had I any Tools to go about it with. I ſpent many a Day to find out a great Stone big enough to cut hollow, and make fit for a Mortar, and could find none at all, except what was in the ſolid Rock, and which I had no way to dig or cut out; nor indeed were the Rocks in the Iſland of Hardneſs ſufficient, but were all of a ſandy crumbling Stone, which

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which neither would bear the Weight of a heavy Peſtle, or would break the Corn without filling it with Sand; ſo after a great deal of Time loſt in ſearching for a Stone, I gave it over, and reſolv'd to look out for a great Block of hard Wood, which I found indeed much eaſier; and getting one as big as I had Strength to ſtir, I rounded it, and form'd it in the Outſide with my Axe and Hatchet, and then with the Help of Fire, and infinite Labour, made a hollow Place in it, as the *Indians* in *Braſil* make their *Canoes*. After this, I made a great heavy Peſtle or Beater, of the Wood called the Iron-Wood, and this I prepared and laid by againſt I had my next Crop of Corn, when I propos'd to my ſelf to grind, or rather pound my Corn into Meal to make my Bread.

My next Difficulty was to make a Sieve, or Searſe, to dreſs my Meal, and to part it from the Bran and the Husk, without which I did not ſee it poſſible I could have any Bread. This was a moſt difficult thing, ſo much as but to think on; for to be ſure I had nothing like the neceſſary Thing to make it; I mean fine thin Canvas, or Stuff to ſearſe the Meal through. And here I was at a full Stop for many Months; nor did I really know what to do; Linen I had none left, but what was meer Rags; I had Goat's Hair, but neither knew I how to weave it, or ſpin it; and had I known how, here were no Tools to work it with; all the Remedy that I found for this, was, That at laſt I did remember I had among the Seamens Cloaths which were ſav'd out of the Ship, ſome Neckcloaths of Callicoe or Muſlin; and with ſome Pieces of theſe I made three ſmall Sieves, but proper enough for the Work; and thus I made ſhift for ſome Years; how I did afterwards, I ſhall ſhew in its Place.

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The baking Part was the next Thing to be consider'd, and how I should make Bread when I came to have Corn; for first I had no Yeast; as to that Part, as there was no supplying the Want, so I did not concern my self much about it: But for an Oven, I was indeed in great Pain; at length I found out an Experiment for that also, which was this; I made some earthen Vessels very broad, but not deep; that is to say, about two Foot Diameter, and not above nine Inches deep; these I burnt in the Fire, as I had done the other, and laid them by; and when I wanted to bake, I made a great Fire upon my Hearth, which I had pav'd with some square Tiles of my own making, and burning also; but I should not call them square.

When the Fire-wood was burnt pretty much into Embers, or live Coals, I drew them forward upon this Hearth, so as to cover it all over, and there I let them lie, till the Hearth was very hot; then sweeping away all the Embers, I set down my Loaf, or Loaves, and whelming down the earthen Pot upon them, drew the Embers all round the Out-side of the Pot, to keep in, and add to the Heat; and thus, as well as in the best Oven in the World, I bak'd my Barley Loaves, and became in little Time a meer Pastry-Cook into the Bargain; for I made my self several Cakes of the Rice, and Puddings; indeed I made no Pies, neither had I any Thing to put into them, supposing I had, except the Flesh either Fowls or Goats.

It need not be wonder'd at, if all these Things took me up most Part of the third Year of my Abode here; for it is to be observ'd, That in the Intervals of these Things, I had my new Harvest and Husbandry to manage; for I reap'd my Corn in its Season, and carried it Home as well as I could, and laid it up in the Ear, in my large Baskets, till I had

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Time to rub it out; for I had no Floor to thrash it on, or Instrument to thrash it with.

And now indeed my Stock of Corn increasing, I really wanted to build my Barns bigger: I wanted a Place to lay it up in; for the Increase of the Corn now yielded me so much, that I had of the Barley about twenty Bushels, and of the Rice as much, or more; insomuch, that now I resolv'd to begin to use it freely; for my Bread had been quite gone a great while; also I resolv'd to see what Quantity would be sufficient for me a whole Year, and to sow but once a Year.

Upon the whole, I found that the forty Bushels of Barley and Rice was much more than I could consume in a Year; so I resolv'd to sow just the same Quantity every Year that I sowed the last, in hopes that such a Quantity would fully provide me with Bread, &c.

All the while these Things were doing, you may be sure my Thoughts run many times upon the Prospect of Land which I had seen from the other Side of the Island, and I was not without secret Wishes that I were on Shore there, fancying the seeing the main Land, and in an inhabited Country. I might find some Way or other to convey my self farther, and perhaps at last find some Means of Escape.

But all this while I made no Allowance for the Dangers of such a Condition, and how I might fall into the Hands of Savages, and perhaps such as I might have Reason to think far worse than the Lions and Tigers of *Africa*. That if I once came into their Power, I should run a Hazard more than a Thousand to One of being kill'd, and perhaps of being eaten; for I had heard that the People of the *Caribbian* Coasts were Cannibals or Man-eaters; and I knew by the Latitude, that I could not be far off

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from that Shore. That ſuppoſe they were not Canibals, yet that they might kill me, as many *Europeans* who had fallen into their Hands had been ſerv'd, even when they had been ten or twenty together; much more I that was but one, and could make little or no Defence. All theſe Things, I ſay, which I ought to have conſider'd well of, and did caſt up in my Thoughts afterwards, yet took up none of my Apprehenſions at firſt; but my Head run mightily upon the Thought of getting over to the Shore.

Now I wiſh'd for my Boy *Xury*, and the Long-Boat, with the Shoulder of Mutton Sail, with which I ſail'd above a thouſand Miles on the Coaſt of *Africk*; but this was in vain. Then I thought I would go and look at our Ship's Boat, which, as I have ſaid, was blown up upon the Shore a great Way in the Storm, when we were firſt caſt away. She lay almoſt where ſhe did at firſt, but not quite; and was turn'd by the Force of the Waves and the Winds, almoſt Bottom upward, againſt a high Ridge of Beachy rough Sand; but no Water about her as before.

If I had had Hands to have refitted her, and to have launch'd her into the Water, the Boat would have done well enough, and I might have gone back into the *Braſils* with her eaſily enough; but I might have foreſeen, that I could no more turn her, and ſet her upright upon her Bottom, than I could remove the Iſland: However, I went to the Woods, and cut Levers and Rollers, and brought them to the Boat, reſolv'd to try what I could do; ſuggeſting to my ſelf, that if I could but turn her down, I might eaſily repair the Damage ſhe had receiv'd, and ſhe would be a very good Boat, and I might go to Sea in her very eaſily.

I ſpar'd no Pains indeed, in this Piece of fruitleſs Toil, and ſpent, I think, three or four Weeks about

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bout it; at last finding it impossible to heave it up with my little Strength, I fell to digging away the Sand to undermine it, and so to make it fall down, setting Pieces of Wood to thrust and guide it right in the Fall.

But when I had done this, I was unable to stir it up again, or to get under it, much less to move it forward towards the Water; so I was forc'd to give it over; and yet, though I gave over the Hopes of the Boat, my desire to venture over for the Main increased, rather than decreased, as the Means for it seem'd impossible.

This at length put me upon thinking, Whether it was not possible to make my self a *Canoe*, or *Periagua*, such as the Natives of those Climates make, even without Tools, or, as I might say, without Hands, *viz.* of the Trunk of a great Tree. This I not only thought possible, but easy, and pleas'd my self extreamly with the Thoughts of making it, and with my having much more Convenience for it than any of the *Negroes* or *Indians*; but not at all considering the particular Inconveniences which I lay under, more than the *Indians* did, *viz.* Want of Hands to move it, when it was made, into the Water; a Difficulty much harder for me to surmount, than all the Consequences of want of Tools could be to them: For what was it to me, That when I had chosen a vast Tree in the Woods, I might with much Trouble cut it down, if after I might be able with my Tools to hew and dub the Out-side into the proper Shape of a Boat, and burn or cut out the Inside to make it hollow, so to make a Boat of it, if after all this, I must leave it just there where I found it, and was not able to launch it into the Water.

One would have thought I could not have had the least Reflection upon my Mind of my Circumstance,

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ſtance, while I was making this Boat; but I ſhould have immediately thought how I ſhould get it into the Sea; but my Thoughts were ſo intent upon my Voyage over the Sea in it, that I never once conſider'd how I ſhould get it off of the Land; and it was really in its own Nature more eaſy for me to guide it over forty five Miles of Sea, than about forty five Fathom of Land, where it lay, to ſet it a float in the Water.

I went to work upon this Boat the moſt like a Fool that ever Man did, who had any of his Senſes awake. I pleas'd my ſelf with the Deſign, without determining whether I was ever able to undertake it; not but that the Difficulty of launching my Boat came often into my Head; but I put a ſtop to my own Enquiries into it, by this fooliſh Anſwer which I gave my ſelf, *Let's firſt make it, I'll warrant I'll find ſome way or other to get it along, when 'tis done.*

This was a moſt prepoſterous Method; but the Eagerneſs of my Fancy prevail'd, and to work I went. I fell'd a Cedar Tree: I queſtion much whether *Solomon* ever had ſuch a one for the Building of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. It was five Foot ten Inches Diameter at the lower Part next the Stump, and four Foot eleven Inches Diameter at the End of twenty two Foot, after which it leſſen'd for a while, and then parted into Branches: It was not without infinite Labour that I fell'd this Tree; I was twenty Days hacking and hewing at it at the Bottom. I was fourteen more getting the Branches and Limbs, and the vaſt ſpreading Head of it cut off, which I hack'd and hew'd through with Axe and Hatchet, and inexpreſſible Labour; After this, it coſt me a Month to ſhape it, and dub it to a Proportion, and to ſomething like the Bottom of a Boat, that it might ſwim up-

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right as it ought to do. It cost me near three Months more to clear the Inside, and work it out so, as to make an exact Boat of it: This I did indeed without Fire, by meer Mallet and Chissel, and by the dint of hard Labour, till I had brought it to be a very handsome *Periagua*, and big enough to have carried six and twenty Men, and consequently big enough to have carried me and all my Cargo.

When I had gone through this Work, I was extremely delighted with it. The Boat was really much bigger than I ever saw a *Canoe*, or *Periagua*, that was made of one Tree, in my Life. Many a weary Stroke it had cost, you may be sure; and there remain'd nothing but to get it into the Water; and had I gotten it into the Water, I make no question, but I should have begun the maddest Voyage, and the most unlikely to be perform'd, that ever was undertaken.

But all my Devices to get it into the Water fail'd me, though they cost me infinite Labour too. It lay about one hundred Yards from the Water, and not more: But the first Inconvenience was, it was up Hill towards the Creek; well, to take away this Discouragement, I resolv'd to dig into the Surface of the Earth, and so make a Declivity: This I begun, and it cost me a prodigious deal of Pains; but who grudge Pains, that have their Deliverance in View? But when this was work'd through, and this Difficulty manag'd, it was still much at one; for I could no more stir the *Canoe*, than I could the other Boat.

Then I measur'd the Distance of Ground, and resolv'd to cut a Dock, or Canal, to bring the Water up to the *Canoe*, seeing I could not bring the *Canoe* down to the Water: Well, I began this Work, and when I began to enter into it, and calculate how deep it was to be dug, how broad, who

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how the Stuff to be thrown out, I found, that by the number of Hands I had, being none but my own, it must have been ten or twelve Years before I should have gone through with it; for the Shore lay high, so that at the upper End it must have been at least twenty Foot deep; so at length, tho' with great Reluctancy, I gave this Attempt over also.

This griev'd me heartily, and now I saw, tho' too late, the Folly of beginning a Work before we count the Cost, and before we judge rightly of our own Strength to go through with it.

In the middle of this Work, I finish'd my fourth Year in this Place, and kept my Anniversary with the same Devotion, and with as much Comfort as ever before; for by a constant Study, and serious Application of the Word of God, and by the Assistance of his Grace, I gain'd a different Knowledge from what I had before. I entertain'd different Notions of Things. I look'd now upon the World as a Thing remote, which I had nothing to do with, no Expectation from, and indeed no Desires about: In a Word, I had nothing indeed to do with it, nor was ever like to have; so I thought it look'd as we may perhaps look upon it hereafter, *viz.* as a Place I had lived in, but was come out of it; and well might I say, as Father *Abraham* to *Dives*, *Between me and thee is a great Gulph fixed.*

In the first Place, I was removed from all the Wickedness of the World here: I had neither the *Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eye, or the Pride of Life.* I had nothing to covet, for I had all that I was now capable of enjoying: I was Lord of the whole Manor, or if I pleas'd, I might call my self King, or Emperor over the whole Country, which I had Possession of. There were no Rivals: I had no Competitor, none to dispute Sovereignty or

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Command with me. I might have rais'd Ship Loadings of Corn; but I had no uſe for it; ſo I let as little grow as I thought enough for my Occaſion. I had Tortoiſe or Turtles enough; but now and then one was as much as I could put to any uſe. I had Timber enough to have built a Fleet of Ships. I had Grapes enough to have made Wine, or to have cur'd into Raiſins, to have loaded that Fleet when they had been built.

But all I could make uſe of, was, All that was valuable. I had enough to eat, and to ſupply my Wants; and, what was all the reſt to me? If I kill'd more Fleſh than I could eat, the Dog muſt eat it, or the Vermin. If I ſow'd more Corn than I could eat, it muſt be ſpoil'd. The Trees that I cut down, were lying to rot on the Ground: I could make no more uſe of them than for Fewel, and that I had no Occaſion for, but to dreſs my Food.

In a Word, The Nature and Experience of Things dictated to me upon juſt Reflection, that all the good Things of this World, are no farther good to us, than they are for our Uſe; and that whatever we may heap up indeed to give others, we enjoy juſt as much as we can uſe, and no more. The moſt covetous griping Miſer in the World would have been cured of the Vice of Covetouſneſs, if he had been in my Caſe; for I poſſeſſed infinitely more than I knew what to do with. I had no room for Deſire, except it was of Things which I had not, and they were but Trifles, though indeed of great uſe to me. I had, as I hinted before, a Parcel of Money, as well Gold as Silver, about thirty ſix Pounds Sterling: Alas! there the naſty ſorry uſeleſs Stuff lay; I had no manner of Buſineſs for it; and I often thought with myſelf, that I would have given a Handful of it for a Groſs of

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Tobacco-Pipes, or for a Hand-Mill to grind my Corn; nay, I would have given it all for Sixpenny-worth of *Turnip* and *Carrot* Seed out of *England*, or for a Handful of *Peaſe* and *Beans*, and a Bottle of Ink: *As it was*, I had not the leaſt Advantage by it, or Benefit from it; but there it lay in a Drawer, and grew mouldy with the Damp of the Cave in the wet Seaſon; and if I had had the Drawer full of Diamonds, it had been the ſame Caſe; and they had been of no manner of Value to me, becauſe of no Uſe.

I had now brought my State of Life to be much eaſier in it ſelf than it was at firſt, and much eaſier to my Mind, as well as to my Body. I frequently ſat down to my Meat with Thankfulneſs, and admired the Hand of God's Providence, which had thus ſpread my Table in the Wilderneſs. I learned to look more upon the bright ſide of my Condition, and leſs upon the dark ſide; and to conſider what I enjoy'd, rather than what I wanted; and this gave me ſometimes ſuch ſecret Comforts, that I cannot expreſs them; and which I take Notice of here, to put thoſe diſcontented People in Mind of it, who cannot enjoy comfortably what God has given them; becauſe they ſee, and covet ſomething that he has not given them: All our Diſcontents about what we want, appeared to me, to ſpring from the want of Thankfulneſs for what we have.

Another Reflection was of great Uſe to me, and doubtleſs would be ſo to any one that ſhould fall into ſuch Diſtreſs as mine was; and this was, to compare my preſent Condition with what I at firſt expected it ſhould be; nay, with what it would certainly have been, if the good Providence of God had not wonderfully ordered the Ship to be caſt up nearer to the Shore, where I not only could come

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come at her, but could bring what I got out of her to the Shore, for my Relief and Comfort; without which, I had wanted for Tools to work, Weapons for Defence, or Gun-Powder and Shot for getting my Food.

I ſpent whole Hours, I may ſay whole Days, in repreſenting to my ſelf in the moſt lively Colours, how I muſt have acted, if I had got nothing out of the Ship; how I could not have ſo much as got any Food, except Fiſh and Turtles; and that as it was long before I found any of them, I muſt have periſh'd firſt: That I ſhould have liv'd, if I had not periſhed, like a meer Savage: That if I had kill'd a Goat, or a Fowl, by any Contrivance, I had no way to flea or open them, or part the Fleſh from the Skin and the Bowels, or to cut it up; but muſt gnaw it with my Teeth, and pull it with my Claws like a Beaſt.

Theſe Reflections made me very ſenſible of the Goodneſs of Providence to me, and very thankful for my preſent Condition, with all its Hardſhips and Misfortunes: And this part alſo I cannot but recommend to the Reflection of thoſe, who are apt in their Miſery, to ſay, *Is any Affliction like mine!* Let them conſider, How much worſe the Caſes of ſome People are; and their Caſe might have been, if Providence had thought fit.

I had another Reflection which aſſiſted me alſo to comfort my Mind with Hopes; and this was, comparing my preſent Condition with what I had deſerv'd, and had therefore Reaſon to expect from the Hand of Providence. I had liv'd a dreadful Life, perfectly deſtitute of the Knowledge and Fear of God. I had been well inſtructed by Father and Mother; neither had they been wanting to me, in their early Endeavours, to infuſe a religious Awe of God into my Mind, a Senſe of my Duty, and

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of what the Nature and End of my Being requir'd of me. But alas! falling early into the Sea-faring Life, which of all the Lives is the most destitute of the Fear of God, though his Terrors are always before them; I say, falling early into the Sea-faring Life, and into Sea-faring Company, all that little Sense of Religion which I had entertained, was laugh'd out of me by my Mess-Mates, by a harden'd despising of Dangers, and the Views of Death, which grew habitual to me, by my long Absence from all manner of Opportunities to converse with any Thing but what was like my self, or to hear any Thing that was good, or tended towards it.

So void was I of every Thing that was good, or of the least Sense of what I was, or was to be, that in the greatest Deliverances I enjoy'd, such as my Escape from *Sallé*; my being taken up by the *Portuguese* Master of the Ship; my being planted so well in the *Brasils*; my receiving the Cargo from *England*, and the like; I never had once the word *Thank God* so much as on my Mind, or in my Mouth; nor in the greatest Distress, had I so much as a Thought to pray to him, or so much as to say, *Lord have mercy upon me*; no nor to mention the Name of God, unless it was to swear by, and blaspheme it.

I had terrible Reflections upon my Mind for many Months, as I have already observ'd, on the account of my wicked and hardned Life past; and when I looked about me, and considered what particular Providences had attended me since my coming into this Place, and how God had dealt bountifully with me; had not only punished me less than my Iniquity had deserv'd, but had so plentifully provided for me; this gave me great Hopes that my Repen-

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Repentance was accepted, and that God had yet Mercy in ſtore for me.

With theſe Reflections I work'd my Mind up, not only to Reſignation to the Will of God in the preſent Diſpoſition of my Circumſtances; but even to a ſincere Thankfulneſs for my Condition; and that I, who was yet a living Man, ought not to complain, ſeeing I had not the due Puniſhment of my Sins; that I enjoy'd ſo many Mercies which I had no reaſon to have expected in that Place; that I ought never more to repine at my Condition, but to rejoice, and to give daily Thanks for that daily Bread, which nothing but a croud of Wonders could have brought. That I ought to conſider I had been fed even by a Miracle, even as great as that of feeding *Elijah* by Ravens; nay, by a long Series of Miracles, and that I could hardly have nam'd a Place in the unhabitable part of the World where I could have been caſt more to my Advantage: A Place, where as I had no Society, which was my Affliction on one Hand, ſo I found no ravenous Beaſts, no furious Wolves or Tygers to threaten my Life, no venomous Creatures or poiſonous, which I might feed on to my Hurt, no Savages to murder and devour me.

In a word, as my Life was a Life of Sorrow, one way, ſo it was a Life of Mercy, another; and I wanted nothing to make it a Life of Comfort, but to be able to make my Senſe of God's Goodneſs to me, and Care over me in this Condition, be my daily Conſolation; and after I did make a juſt Improvement of theſe things, I went away and was no more ſad.

I had now been here ſo long, that many things which I brought on Shore for my Help, were either quite gone, or very much waſted and near ſpent.

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My Ink, as I observed, had been gone for some time, all but a very little, which I eek'd out with Water a little and a little, till it was so pale it scarce left any Appearance of black upon the Paper: As long as it lasted, I made use of it to minute down the Days of the Month on which any remarkable Thing happen'd to me; and first, by casting up Times past, I remember that there was a strange Concurrence of Days in the various Providences which befel me; and which, if I had been superstitiously inclin'd to observe Days as Fatal or Fortunate, I might have had Reason to have look'd upon with a great deal of Curiosity.

First I had observed, that the same Day, that I broke away from my Father and my Friends, and run away to *Hull*, in order to go to Sea; the same Day afterwards I was taken by the *Sallé* Man of War, and made a Slave.

The same Day of the Year that I escaped out of the Wreck of that Ship in *Yarmouth* Roads, that same Day-Year afterwards I made my escape from *Sallé* in the Boat.

The same Day of the Year I was born on (*viz.*) the 30th of *September*, the same Day I had my Life so miraculously saved 26 Years after, when I was cast on Shore on this Island; so that my wicked Life and my solitary Life begun both on a Day.

The next Thing to my Ink's being wasted, was that of my Bread, I mean the Bisket which I brought out of the Ship: This I had husbanded to the last Degree, allowing my self but one Cake of Bread a Day for above a Year, and yet I was quite without Bread for near a Year before I got any Corn of my own; and great Reason I had to be thankful that I had any at all, the getting it being, as has been already observed, next to miraculous.

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My Cloaths began to decay too mightily: As to Linnen, I had had none a good while, except some chequered Shirts which I found in the Chests of the other Seamen, and which I carefully preserv'd, because many times I could bear no other Cloaths on but a Shirt; and it was a very great help to me that I had among all the Men's Cloaths of the Ship almost three dozen of Shirts. There were also several thick Watch-Coats of the Seamens, which were left indeed, but they were too hot to wear; and tho' it is true, that the Weather was so violent hot that there was no need of Cloaths, yet I could not go quite naked; no, tho' I had been inclined to it, which I was not, nor could not abide the Thoughts of it, tho' I was all alone.

The Reason why I could not go quite naked, was, I could not bear the Heat of the Sun so well when quite naked, as with some Cloaths on; nay, the very Heat frequently blister'd my Skin; whereas with a Shirt on, the Air it self made some Motion, and whistling under that Shirt was twofold cooler than without it: No more could I ever bring my self to go out in the Heat of the Sun without a Cap or a Hat; the Heat of the Sun beating with such Violence as it does in that Place, would give me the Head-ach presently, by darting so directly on my Head, without a Cap or Hat on; so that I could not bear it; whereas, if I put on my Hat, it would presently go away.

Upon those Views I began to consider about putting the few Rags I had, which I called Cloaths, into some Order: I had worn out all the Waistcoats I had, and my Business was now to try if I could not make Jackets out of the great Watch-Coats which I had by me, and with such other Materials as I had; so I set to work a Tayloring, or rather indeed a Botching, for I made most piteous

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pietous Work of it. However, I made ſhift to make two or three new Waſtcoats, which I hoped would ſerve me a great while; as for Breeches or Drawers, I made but a very ſorry ſhift indeed, till afterward.

I have mentioned that I ſaved the Skins of all the Creatures that I kill'd, I mean four-footed ones, and I had hung them up ſtretch'd out with Sticks in the Sun, by which means ſome of them were ſo dry and hard that they were fit for little, but others it ſeems were very uſeful. The firſt thing I made of theſe was a great Cap for my Head, with the Hair on the Outſide to ſhoot off the Rain; and this I perform'd ſo well, that after this I made me a Suit of Cloaths wholly of theſe Skins, that is to ſay, a Waſtcoat, and Breeches open at Knees, and both looſe, for they were rather wanting to keep me cool than to keep me warm. I muſt not omit to acknowledge that they were wretchedly made; for if I was a bad *Carpenter*, I was a worſe *Taylor*. However, they were ſuch as I made very good ſhift with; and when I was abroad, if it happen'd to rain, the Hair of my Waſtcoat and Cap being outermoſt, I was kept very dry.

After this I ſpent a great deal of Time and Pains to make me an Umbrella; I was indeed in great want of one, and had a great mind to make one; I had ſeen them made in the *Braſils*, where they are very uſeful in the great Heats which are there: And I felt the Heats every jot as great here, and greater too, being nearer the Equinox; beſides, as I was obliged to be much abroad, it was a moſt uſeful thing to me, as well for the Rains as the Heats. I took a world of Pains at it, and was a great while before I could make any thing likely to hold; nay, after I thought I had hit the Way, I ſpoil'd 2 or 3 before I made one to my Mind; but

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at last I made one that answer'd indifferently well; The main Difficulty I found was to make it to let down. I could make it to spread, but if it did not let down too, and draw in, it was not portable for me any Way but just over my Head, which would not do. However, at last, as I said, I made one to answer, and cover'd it with Skins, the Hair upwards, so that it cast off the Rains like a Penthouse, and kept off the Sun so effectually, that I could walk out in the hottest of the Weather with greater Advantage than I could before in the coolest, and when I had no need of it, could close it and carry it under my Arm.

Thus I lived mighty comfortably, my Mind being entirely composed by resigning to the Will of God, and throwing my self wholly upon the Disposal of his Providence. This made my Life better than sociable; for when I began to regret the want of Conversation, I would ask my self whether thus conversing mutually with my own Thoughts, and, as I hope I may say, with even God himself by Ejaculations, was not better than the utmost Enjoyment of human Society in the World?

I cannot say that after this, for five Years, any extraordinary Thing happened to me, but I lived on in the same Course, in the same Posture and Place, just as before: The chief Things I was employ'd in, besides my yearly Labour of planting my Barley and Rice, and curing my Raisins, of both which I always kept up just enough to have sufficient Stock of one Year's Provisions beforehand; I say, besides this yearly Labour, and my daily Labour of going out with my Gun, I had one Labour to make me a *Canoe*, which at last I finished: So that by digging a Canal to it of six Foot wide, and four Foot deep, I brought it into the Creek, almost half a Mile. As for the first, which was so vastly big,

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as I made it without considering before-hand, as I ought to do, how I should be able to launch it; so never being able to bring it to the Water, or bring the Water to it, I was oblig'd to let it lie where it was, as a *Memorandum* to teach me to be wiser next Time: Indeed, the next Time, tho' I could not get a Tree proper for it, and in a Place where I could not get the Water to it, at any less Distance than as I have said, near half a Mile; yet as I saw it was practicable at last, I never gave it over; and though I was near two Years about it, yet I never grudg'd my Labour, in Hopes of having a Boat to go off to Sea at last.

However, though my little *Periagua* was finish'd, yet the Size of it was not at all answerable to the Design which I had in View, when I made the first; I mean, Of venturing over to the *Terra Firma*, where it was above forty Miles broad; accordingly, the Smallness of my Boat assisted to put an End to that Design, and now I thought no more of it: But as I had a Boat, my next Design was to make a Tour round the Island; for as I had been on the other Side, in one Place, crossing as I have already describ'd it, over the Land; so the Discoveries I made in that little Journey, made me very eager to see other Parts of the Coast; and now I had a Boat, I thought of nothing but sailing round the Island.

For this Purpose, that I might do every Thing with Discretion and Consideration, I fitted up a little Mast to my Boat, and made a Sail to it, out of some of the Pieces of the Ship's Sail, which lay in store; and of which I had a great Stock by me.

Having fitted my Mast and Sail, and try'd the Boat, I found she would sail very well; Then I made little Lockers, or Boxes, at either End of my Boat, to put Provisions, Necessaries and Ammuni-

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tion, *&c.* into, to be kept dry, either from Rain, or the Sprye of the Sea; and a little long hollow Place I cut in the Inside of the Boat, where I could lay my Gun, making a Flap to hang down over it to keep it dry.

I fix'd my Umbrella also in a Step at the Stern, like a Mast, to stand over my Head, and keep the Heat of the Sun off of me like an Auning; and thus I every now and then took a little Voyage upon the Sea, but never went far out, nor far from the little Creek; but at last being eager to view the Circumference of my little Kingdom, I resolv'd upon my Tour, and accordingly I victuall'd my Ship for the Voyage, putting in two Dozen of my Loaves (Cakes I should rather call them) of Barley Bread, an Earthen Pot full of parch'd Rice, a Food I eat a great deal of, a little Bottle of Rum, half a Goat, and Powder and Shot for killing more, and two large Watch-coats, of those which, as I mention'd before, I had sav'd out of the Seamen's Chests; these I took, one to lie upon, and the other to cover me in the Night.

It was the sixth of *November*, in the sixth Year of my Reign, or my Captivity, which you please, That I set out on this Voyage, and I found it much longer than I expected; for though the Island itself was not very large, yet when I came to the *East* Side of it, I found a great Ledge of Rocks lie out above two Leagues into the Sea, some above Water, some under it; and beyond that, a Shoal of Sand, lying dry half a League more; so that I was oblig'd to go a great Way out to Sea to double the Point.

When first I discover'd them, I was going to give over my Enterprise, and come back again, not knowing how far it might oblige me to go out to Sea; and above all, doubting how I should get back

again;

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again; ſo I came to an Anchor; for I had made me a kind of an Anchor, with a piece of a broken Graplin, which I got out of the Ship.

Having ſecur'd my Boat, I took my Gun, and went on Shore, climbing up upon a Hill, which ſeem'd to over-look that Point, where I ſaw the full Extent of it, and reſolv'd to venture.

In my viewing the Sea from that Hill where I ſtood, I perceived a ſtrong, and indeed, a moſt furious Current, which run to the *Eaſt*, and even came cloſe to the Point; and I took the more notice of it, becauſe I ſaw there might be ſome Danger, that when I came into it, I might be carry'd out to Sea by the Strength of it, and not be able to make the Iſland again; and indeed, had I not gotten firſt up upon this Hill, I believe it would have been ſo; for there was the ſame Current on the other ſide the Iſland, only, that it ſet off at a farther Diſtance; and I ſaw there was a ſtrong Eddy under the Shore; ſo I had nothing to do but to get in out of the firſt Current, and I ſhould preſently be in an Eddy.

I lay here, however, two Days; becauſe the Wind blowing pretty freſh at *E. S. E.* and that being juſt contrary to the ſaid Current, made a great Breach of the Sea upon the Point; ſo that it was not ſafe for me to keep too cloſe to the Shore for the Breach, nor to go too far off becauſe of the Stream.

The third Day in the Morning, the Wind having abated over Night, the Sea was calm, and I ventur'd; but I am a warning Piece again to all raſh and ignorant Pilots; for no ſooner was I come to the Point, when even I was not my Boat's Length from the Shore, but I found my ſelf in a great Depth of Water, and a Current like the Sluice of a Mill: It carry'd my Boat along with it

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with ſuch Violence, that all I could do, could not keep her ſo much as on the Edge of it; but I found it hurry'd me farther and farther out from the Eddy, which was on my Left Hand. There was no Wind ſtirring to help me, and all I could do with my Paddlers ſignify'd nothing; and now I began to give my ſelf over for loſt; for as the Current was on both ſides the Iſland, I knew in a few Leagues Diſtance they muſt joyn again, and then I was irrecoverably gone; nor did I ſee any Poſſibility of avoiding it; ſo that I had no Proſpect before me but of periſhing; not by the Sea, for that was calm enough, but of ſtarving for Hunger. I had indeed found a Tortoiſe on the Shore, as big almoſt as I could lift, and had toſs'd it into the Boat; and I had a great Jar of freſh Water, that is to ſay, one of my Earthen Pots; but what was all this to being driven into the vaſt Ocean, where to be ſure, there was no Shore, no main Land, or Iſland, for a thouſand Leagues at leaſt.

And now I ſaw how eaſy it was for the Providence of God to make the moſt miſerable Condition Mankind could be in, *worſe*. Now I look'd back upon my deſolate ſolitary Iſland, as the moſt pleaſant Place in the World, and all the Happineſs my Heart could wiſh for, was to be but there again. I ſtrech'd out my Hands to it with eager Wiſhes. O happy Deſart, ſaid I, I ſhall never ſee thee more! O miſerable Creature, ſaid I, whither am I going! Then I reproach'd my ſelf with my unthankful Temper, and how I had repin'd at my ſolitary Condition; and now what would I give to be on Shore there again? Thus we never ſee the true State of our Condition, till it is illuſtrated to us by its Contraries; nor know how to value what we enjoy, but by the want of it. It is ſcarce poſſible to imagine the Conſternation I was now in, being

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being driven from my beloved Iſland (for ſo it appeared to me now to be) into the wide Ocean, almoſt two Leagues, and in the utmoſt Deſpair of ever recovering it again. However, I work'd hard, till indeed my Strength was almoſt exhauſted, and kept my Boat as much to the *Northward*, that is, towards the Side of the Current which the Eddy lay on, as poſſibly I could; when about Noon, as the Sun paſs'd the Meridian, I thought I felt a little Breeze of Wind in my Face, ſpringing up from the *S. S. E.* This chear'd my Heart a little, and eſpecially when in about half an Hour more, it blew a pretty ſmall gentle Gale. By this Time I was gotten at a frightful Diſtance from the Iſland, and had the leaſt Cloud or hazy Weather interven'd, I had been undone another Way too; for I had no Compaſs on Board, and ſhould never have known how to have ſteer'd towards the Iſland, if I had but once loſt Sight of it; but the Weather continuing clear, I apply'd my ſelf to get up my Maſt again, ſpread my Sail, ſtanding away to the *North* as much as poſſible, to get out of the Current.

Juſt as I had ſet my Maſt and Sail, and the Boat began to ſtretch away, I ſaw even by the Clearneſs of the Water, ſome Alteration of the Current was near; for where the Current was ſo ſtrong, the Water was foul; but perceiving the Water clear, I found the Current abate, and preſently I found to the *Eaſt*, at about half a Mile, a Breach of the Sea upon ſome Rocks; theſe Rocks I found caus'd the Current to part again, and as the main Streſs of it ran away more *Southerly*, leaving the Rocks to the *North-Eaſt*; ſo the other return'd by the Repulſe of the Rocks, and made a ſtrong Eddy, which ran back again to the *North-Weſt* with a very ſharp Stream.

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They who know what it is to have a Reprieve brought to them upon the Ladder, or to be rescued from Thieves just going to murder them, or who have been in such like Extremities, may guess what my present Surprize of Joy was, and how gladly I put my Boat into the Stream of this Eddy, and the Wind also freshning, how gladly I spread my Sail to it, running chearfully before the Wind, and with a strong Tide or Eddy under Foot.

This Eddy carry'd me about a League in my Way back again directly towards the Island, but about two Leagues more to the Northward than the Current which carried me away at first; so that when I came near the Island, I found my self open to the Northern Shore of it, that is to say, the other End of the Island opposite to that which I went out from.

When I had made something more than a League of Way by the Help of this Current or Eddy, I found it was spent and serv'd me no farther. However, I found that being between the two great Currents, (*viz.*) that on the South Side, which had hurried me away, and that on the North, which lay about a League on the other Side: I say, between these two, in the Wake of the Island, I found the Water at least still and running no Way; and having yet a Breeze of Wind fair for me, I kept on steering directly for the Island, tho' not making such fresh Way as I did before.

About four a Clock in the Evening, being then within about a League of the Island, I found the Point of the Rocks which occasioned this Disaster, stretching out, as is described before, to the Southward, and casting off the Current more Southwardly, had of course made another Eddy to the North, and this I found very strong, but not directly setting the Way my Course lay, which was due West, but almost

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almoſt full North. However, having a freſh Gale, I ſtretch'd a-croſs this Eddy ſlanting North-weſt, and in about an Hour came within about a Mile of the Shore, where it being ſmooth Water, I ſoon got to Land.

When I was on Shore I fell on my Knees and gave God Thanks for my Deliverance, reſolving to lay aſide all Thoughts of my Deliverance by my Boat; and refreſhing my ſelf with ſuch Things as I had, I brought my Boat cloſe to the Shore in a little Cove that I had ſpy'd under ſome Trees, and laid me down to ſleep, being quite ſpent with the Labour and Fatigue of the Voyage.

I was now at a great Loſs which way to get Home with my Boat: I had run ſo much Hazard, and knew too much the Caſe to think of attempting it by the Way I went out; and what might be at the other Side (I mean the Weſt Side) I knew not, nor had I any Mind to run any more Ventures; ſo I only reſolved in the Morning to make my Way Weſtward along the Shore, and to ſee if there was no Creek where I might lay up my Frigate in Safety, ſo as to have her again if I wanted her. In about three Mile, or thereabout, coaſting the Shore, I came to a very good Inlet or Bay about a Mile over, which narrowed till it came to a very little Rivulet or Brook, where I found a very convenient Harbour for my Boat, and where ſhe lay as if ſhe had been in a little Dock made on purpoſe for her. Here I put in, and having ſtow'd my Boat very ſafe, I went on Shore to look about me, and ſee where I was.

I ſoon found I had but a little paſs'd by the Place where I had been before, when I travell'd on Foot to that Shore; ſo taking nothing but of my Boat, but my Gun and my Umbrella, for it was exceeding hot, I began my March. The Way was comfortable enough after ſuch a Voyage as I had

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been upon, and I reach'd my old Bower in the Evening, where I found every thing ſtanding as I left it; for I always kept it in good Order, being, as I ſaid before, my Country-Houſe.

I got over the Fence, and laid me down in the Shade to reſt my Limbs, for I was very weary, and fell aſleep: But judge you, if you can, that read my Story, what a Surprize I muſt be in, when I was wak'd out of my Sleep by a Voice calling me by my Name ſeveral times, *Robin, Robin, Robin Cruſoe, Poor Robin Cruſoe!* where are you *Robin Cruſoe?* Where are you? Where have you been?

I was ſo dead aſleep at firſt, being fatigu'd with Rowing, or Paddling, as it is call'd, the firſt Part of the Day, and with Walking the latter Part, that I did not wake thoroughly; but dozing between ſleeping and waking, thought I dream'd that ſome body ſpoke to me: But as the Voice continu'd to repeat, *Robin Cruſoe, Robin Cruſoe*, at laſt I began to wake more perfectly, and was at firſt dreadfully frighted, and ſtarted up in the utmoſt Conſternation: But no ſooner were my Eyes open, than I ſaw my *Poll* ſitting on the top of the Hedge, and immediately knew that it was he that ſpoke to me; for juſt in ſuch bemoaning Language I had uſed to talk to him, and teach him; and he had learn'd it ſo perfectly, that he would ſit upon my Finger, and lay his Bill cloſe to my Face, and cry, *Poor* Robin Cruſoe, *Where are you? Where have you been? How come you here?* and ſuch things as I had taught him.

However, even though I knew it was the Parrot, and that indeed it could be no body elſe, it was a good while before I could compoſe my ſelf: Firſt, I was amazed how the Creature got thither, and then how he ſhould juſt keep about the Place, and no where elſe: But as I was well ſatisfied it could

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could be no body but honeſt *Poll*, I got it over; and holding out my Hand, and calling him by his Name *Poll*, the ſociable Creature came to me, and ſat upon my Thumb, as he uſed to do, and continued talking to me, *Poor* Robin Cruſoe, and *how did I come here?* and *where had I been?* juſt as if he had been overjoy'd to ſee me again; and ſo I carry'd him Home along with me.

I had now had enough of rambling to Sea for ſome time, and had enough to do for many Days to ſit ſtill, and reflect upon the Danger I had been in. I would have been very glad to have had my Boat again on my ſide of the Iſland; but I knew not how it was practicable to get it about. As to the Eaſt ſide of the Iſland, which I had gone round, I knew well enough there was no venturing that Way; my very Heart would ſhrink, and my very Blood run chill to think of it: And as to the other ſide of the Iſland, I did not know how it might be there; but ſuppoſing the Current ran with the ſame Force againſt the Shore at the Eaſt, as it paſs'd by it on the other, I might run the ſame Risk of being driven down the Stream, and carry'd by the Iſland, as I had been before, of being carry'd away from it; ſo with theſe Thoughts I contented my ſelf to be without any Boat, though it had been the Product of ſo many Months Labour to make it, and of ſo many more to get it unto the Sea.

In this Government of my Temper I remain'd near a Year, liv'd a very ſedate retired Life, as you may well ſuppoſe; and my Thoughts being very much compoſed as to my Condition, and fully comforted in reſigning my ſelf to the Diſpoſitions of Providence, I thought I liv'd really very happily in all things, except that of Society.

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I improv'd my ſelf in this time in all the mechanick Exercises which my Neceſſities put me upon applying my ſelf to, and I believe I could, upon Occaſion, made a very good *Carpenter*, eſpecially conſidering how few Tools I had.

Beſides this, I arrived at an unexpected Perfection in my Earthen Ware, and contrived well enough to make them with a Wheel, which I found infinitely eaſier and better; becauſe I made Things round and ſhapable, which before were filthy Things indeed to look on. But I think I was never more vain of my own Performance, or more joyful for any thing I found out, than for my being able to make a Tobacco-Pipe. And tho' it was a very ugly clumſy thing, when it was done, and only burnt red like other earthen Ware, yet as it was hard and firm, and would draw the Smoke, I was exceedingly comforted with it; for I had been always uſed to ſmoke, and there were Pipes in the Ship, but I forgot them at firſt, not knowing that there was Tobacco in the Iſland; and afterwards, when I ſearch'd the Ship again, I could not come at any Pipes at all.

In my Wicker Ware alſo I improved much, and made abundance of neceſſary Baskets, as well as my Invention ſhew'd me; though not very handſome, yet they were ſuch as were very handy and convenient for my laying Things up in, or fetching Things home in. For Example, if I kill'd a Goat abroad, I could hang it up in a Tree, flea it, and dreſs it, and cut it in Pieces, and bring it home in a Basket; and the like by a Turtle, I could cut it up, take out the Eggs, and a piece or two of the Fleſh, which was enough for me, and bring them home in a Basket, and leave the reſt behind me. Alſo large deep Baskets were my Receivers of my Corn, which I always rubb'd out as ſoon

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soon as it was dry, and cured, and kept it in great Baskets.

I began now to perceive my Powder abated considerably, and this was a Want which it was impossible for me to supply, and I began seriously to consider what I must do when I should have no more Powder; that is to say, how I should do to kill any Goat. I had, as I observ'd in the third Year of my being here, kept a young Kid, and bred her up tame, and I was in hope of getting a He-Goat, but I could not by any means bring it to pass, till my Kid grew an old Goat; and I could never find in my Heart to kill her, till she dy'd at last of mere Age.

But being now in the eleventh Year of my Residence, and, as I have said, my Ammunition growing low, I set my self to study some Art to trap and snare the Goats, to see whether I could not catch some of them alive, and particularly I wanted a She-Goat great with Young.

To this purpose I made Snares to hamper them, and I do believe they were more than once taken in them, but my Tackle was not good, for I had no Wire, and I always found them broken, and my Bait devoured.

At length I resolved to try a Pit-fall, so I dug several large Pits in the Earth, in Places where I had observed the Goats used to feed, and over these Pits I placed Hurdles of my own making too, with a great Weight upon them; and several times I put Ears of Barley and dry Rice, without setting the Trap, and I could easily perceive that the Goats had gone in and eaten up the Corn, for I could see the Mark of their Feet. At length I set three Traps in one Night, and going the next Morning I found them all standing, and yet the Bait eaten and gone. This was very discouraging.

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However, I alter'd my Trap, and, not to trouble you with Particulars, going one Morning to see my Trap, I found in one of them a large old He-Goat, and in one of the other three Kids, a Male, and two Females.

As to the old one, I knew not what to do with him, he was so fierce I durst not go into the Pit to him; that is to say, to go about to bring him away alive, which was what I wanted. I could have kill'd him, but that was not my Business, nor would it answer my End. So I e'en let him out, and he ran away as if he had been frighted out of his Wits: But I had forgot then what I recollected afterwards, that Hunger will tame a Lyon., If I had let him stay there three or four Days without Food, and then had carry'd him some Water to drink, and then a little Corn, he would have been as tame as one of the Kids, for they are mighty sagacious tractable Creatures where they are well used.

However, for the present I let him go, knowing no better at that time; then I went to the three Kids, and taking them one by one, I tyed them with Strings together, and with some Difficulty brought them all home.

It was a good while before they would feed, but throwing them some sweet Corn, it tempted them, and they began to be tame: and now I found that if I expected to supply my self with Goat-Flesh when I had no Powder or Shot left, breeding some up tame was my only Way, when perhaps I might have them about my House like a Flock of Sheep.

But then it presently occur'd to me, that I must keep the Tame from the Wild, or else they would always run wild when they grew up; and the only Way for this was to have some enclosed Piece of Ground

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Ground, well fenc'd either with Hedge or Pale, to keep them in so effectually, that those within might not break out, or those without break in.

This was a great Undertaking for one Pair of Hands, yet as I saw there was an absolute Necessity of doing it, my first Piece of Work was to find out a proper Piece of Ground, *viz.* where there was likely to be Herbage for them to eat, Water for them to drink, and cover to keep them from the Sun.

Those who understand such Enclosures will think I had very little Contrivance, when I pitch'd upon a Place very proper for all these, being a plain open piece of Meadow-Land or *Savanna*, (as our People call it in the Western Colonies,) which had two or three little Drills of fresh Water in it, and at one end was very woody: I say they will smile at my Forecast, when I shall tell them I began my enclosing of this Piece of Ground in such a manner, that my Hedge or Pale must have been at least two Mile about. Nor was the Madness of it so great as to the Compass, for if it was ten Mile about I was like to have time enough to do it in. But I did not consider that my Goats would be as wild in so much Compass, as if they had had the whole Island, and I should have so much Room to chace them in, that I should never catch them.

My Hedge was begun and carry'd on, I believe, about fifty Yards, when this Thought occurr'd to me; so I presently stopt short, and for the first beginning I resolv'd to enclose a Piece of about 150 Yards in length, and 100 Yards in breadth, which as it would maintain as many as I should have in any reasonable time, so as my Flock encreased, I could add more Ground to my Enclosure.

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This was acting with some Prudence, and I went to work with Courage. I was about three Months hedging in the first Peice, and till I had done it. I tether'd the three Kids in the best part of it, and us'd them to feed as near me as possible, to make them familiar; and very often I would go and carry them some Ears of Barley, or a handful of Rice, and feed them out of my Hand; so that after my Enclosure was finished, and I let them loose, they would follow me up and down, bleating after me for a handful of Corn.

This answer'd my End, and in about a Year and half I had a Flock of about twelve Goats, Kids and all; and in two Years more I had three and Forty, besides several that I took and kill'd for my Food. And after that I enclosed five several Pieces of Ground to feed them in, with little Pens to drive them into, to take them as I wanted, and Gates out of one Piece of Ground into another.

But this was not all, for now I not only had Goats-Flesh to feed on when I pleas'd, but Milk too, a thing which indeed in my beginning I did not so much as think of, and which, when it came into my Thoughts, was really an agreeable Surprize. For now I set up my Dairy, and had some times a Gallon or two of Milk in a Day. And as Nature, who gives Supplies of Food to every Creature, dictates even naturally how to make use of it; so I that never milk'd a Cow, much less a Goat, or had seen Butter or Cheese made, very readily and handily, tho' after a great many Essays and Miscarriages, made me both Butter and Cheese at last, and never wanted it afterwards.

How mercifully can our great Creator treat his Creatures, even in those Conditions in which they seem to be overwhelm'd in Destruction! How

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can he ſweeten the bittereſt Providences, and give us cauſe to praiſe him for Dungeons and Priſons! What a Table was here ſpread for me in a Wilderneſs, where I ſaw nothing at firſt but to periſh for Hunger!

It would have made a Stoick ſmile to have ſeen, me and my little Family ſit down to Dinner; there was my Majeſty the Prince and Lord of the whole Iſland; I had the Lives of all my Subjects at my abſolute command. I could hang, draw, give Liberty, and take it away, and no Rebels among all my Subjects.

Then to ſee how like a King I din'd too all alone, attended by my Servants; *Poll*, as if he had been my Favourite, was the only perſon permitted to talk to me. My Dog, who was now grown very old and crazy, and had found no Species to multiply his Kind upon, ſat always at my Right Hand; and two Cats, one on one Side the Table, and one on the other, expecting now and then a Bit from my Hand, as a Mark of ſpecial Favour.

But theſe were not the two Cats which I brought on Shore at firſt, for they were both of them dead, and had been inter'd near my Habitation by my own Hand; but one of them having multiply'd by I know not what Kind of Creature, theſe were two which I had preſerv'd tame, whereas the reſt run wild in the Woods, and became indeed troubleſom to me at laſt; for they would often come into my Houſe, and plunder me too, till at laſt I was obliged to ſhoot them, and did kill a great many; at length they left me: With this Attendance, and in this plentiful Manner I liv'd; neither could I be ſaid to want any thing but Society, and of that in ſome time after this, I was like to have too much.

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I was ſomething impatient, as I have obſerv'd, to have the uſe of my Boat; though very loth to run any more Hazards; and therefore ſometimes I ſat contriving Ways to get her about the Iſland, and at other Times I ſat myſelf down contented enough without her. But I had a ſtrange Uneaſineſs in my Mind to go down to the Point of the Iſland, where, as I have ſaid, in my laſt Ramble, I went up the Hill to ſee how the Shore lay, and how the Current ſet, that I might ſee what I had to do: This Inclination increas'd upon me every Day, and at length I reſolv'd to travel thither by Land, following the Edge of the Shore. I did ſo: But had any one in *England* been to meet ſuch a Man as I was, it muſt either have frighted him, or rais'd a great deal of Laughter; and as I frequently ſtood ſtill to look at my ſelf, I could not but ſmile at the Notion of my travelling through *Yorkſhire* with ſuch an Equipage, and in ſuch a Dreſs: Be pleas'd to take a Sketch of my Figure as follows.

I had a great high ſhapeleſs Cap, made of a Goat's Skin, with a Flap hanging down behind, as well to keep the Sun from me, as to ſhoot the Rain off from running into my Neck; nothing being ſo hurtful in theſe Climates, as the Rain upon the Fleſh under the Cloaths.

I had a ſhort Jacket of Goat-Skin, the Skirts coming down to about the middle of my Thighs; and a pair of open-knee'd Breeches of the ſame; the Breeches were made of the Skin of an old *He-goat*, whoſe Hair hung down ſuch a Length on either Side, that like *Pantaloons* it reach'd to the middle of my Legs; Stockings and Shoes I had none, but had made me a Pair of ſome-things, I ſcarce know what to call them, like Buskins, to flap over my Legs, and lace on either Side like Spatter-dashes; but

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but of a most barbarous Shape, as indeed were all the rest of my Cloaths.

I had on a broad Belt of Goats-Skin dryed, which I drew together with two Thongs of the same, instead of Buckles, and in a kind of a Frog on either Side of this. Instead of a Sword and a Dagger, hung a little Saw and a Hatchet, one on one Side, one on the other. I had another Belt not so broad, and fasten'd in the same manner, which hung over my Shoulder; and at the End of it, under my Left Arm, hung two Pouches, both made of Goats-Skin too; in one of which hung my Powder, in the other my Shot: At my Back I carried my Basket, on my Shoulder my Gun, and over my Head a great clumsy ugly Goat-Skin Umbrella, but which, after all, was the most necessary Thing I had about me, next to my Gun: As for my Face, the Colour of it was really not so *Moletta* like, as one might expect from a Man not at all careful of it, and living within nine or ten Degrees of the *Equinox*. My Beard I had once suffer'd to grow till it was about a quarter of a Yard long; but as I had both Scissars and Razors sufficient, I had cut it pretty short, except what grew on my upper Lip, which I had trimm'd into a large Pair of *Mahometan* Whiskers, such as I had seen worn by some *Turks*, who I saw at *Sallé*; for the *Moors* did not wear such, tho' the *Turks* did; of these Mustachioes or Whiskers, I will not say they were long enough to hang my Hat upon them; but they were of Length and Shape monstrous enough, and such as in *England* would have pass'd for frightful.

But all this is by the by; for as to my Figure, I had so few to observe me, that it was of no manner of Consequence; so I say no more to that Part. In this kind of Figure I went my new Journey, and was out five or six Days. I travell'd first along the

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Sea-Shore, directly to the Place where I firſt brought my Boat to an Anchor, to get up upon the Rocks; and having no Boat now to take care of, I went over the Land a nearer Way, to the ſame Height that I was upon before; when looking forward to the Point of the Rocks which lay out, and which I was oblig'd to double with my Boat, as is ſaid above, I was ſurpriz'd to ſee the Sea all ſmooth and quiet, no Ripling, no Motion, no Current, any more there than in other Places.

I was at a ſtrange Loſs to underſtand this, and reſolv'd to ſpend ſome Time in the obſerving it, to ſee if nothing from the Sets of the Tide had occaſion'd it; but I was preſently convinced how it was, *viz.* That the Tide of Ebb ſetting from the *Weſt*, and joining with the Current of Waters from ſome great River on the Shore, muſt be the occaſion of this Current; and that according as the Wind blew more forcibly from the *Weſt*, or from the *North*, this Current came near, or went farther from Shore; for waiting thereabouts till Evening, I went up to the Rock again, and then the Tide of Ebb being made, I plainly ſaw the Current again as before, only, that it run farther off, being near half a League from the Shore; whereas in my Caſe, it ſet cloſe upon the Shore, and hurried me and my *Canoe* along with it, which at another time it would not have done.

This Obſervation convinc'd me, That I had nothing to do but to obſerve the Ebbing and the Flowing of the Tide, and I might very eaſily bring my Boat about the Iſland again: But when I began to think of putting it in practice, I had ſuch a Terror upon my Spirits at the Remembrance of the Danger I had been in, that I could not think of it again with any Patience; but on the contrary, I took up another Reſolution, which was more ſafe, though

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though more laborious; and this was, that I would build, or rather make me another *Pariagua* or *Canoe*; and so have one for one Side of the Island, and one for the other.

You are to understand, that now I had, as I may call it, two Plantations in the Island; one my little Fortification or Tent, with the Wall about it under the Rock, with the Cave behind me, which by this time I had enlarg'd into several Apartments, or Caves, one within another. One of these, which was the dryest, and largest, and had a Door out beyond my Wall or Fortification; that is to say, beyond where my Wall join'd to the Rock, was all fill'd up with the large Earthen Pots, of which I have given an Account, and with fourteen or fifteen great Baskets, which would hold five or six Bushels each, where I laid up my Stores of Provision, especially my Corn, some in the Ear cut off short from the Straw, and the other rubb'd out with my Hand.

As for my Wall made, *as before*, with long Stakes or Piles, those Piles grew all like Trees, and were by this Time grown so big, and spread so very much, that there was not the least Appearance to any one's View of any Habitation behind them.

Near this Dwelling of mine, but a little farther within the Land, and upon lower Ground, lay my two Pieces of Corn-Ground, which I kept duly cultivated and sow'd, and which duly yielded me their Harvest in its Season; and whenever I had occasion for more Corn, I had more Land adjoining as fit as that.

Besides this, I had my Country Seat, and I had now a tolerable Plantation there also; for first, I had my little Bower, as I call'd it, which I kept in Repair; *that is to say*, I kept the Hedge which circled it in, constantly fitted up to its usual Height,

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the Ladder ſtanding always in the Inſide; I kept the Trees which at firſt were no more than my Stakes, but were now grown very firm and tall; I kept them always ſo cut, that they might ſpread and grow thick and wild, and make the more agreeable Shade, which they did effectually to my Mind. In the Middle of this I had my Tent always ſtanding, being a Piece of a Sail ſpread over Poles ſet up for that Purpoſe, and which never wanted any Repair or Renewing; and under this I had made me a Squab or Couch, with the Skins of the Creatures I had kill'd, and with other ſoft Things, and a Blanket laid on them, ſuch as belong'd to our Sea-Bedding, which I had ſaved, and a great Watch-Coat to cover me; and here, whenever I had Occaſion to be abſent from my chief Seat, I took up my Country Habitation.

Adjoining to this I had my Incloſures for my Cattle, that is to ſay, my Goats: And as I had taken an inconceivable deal of Pains to fence and incloſe this Ground, ſo I was ſo uneaſy to ſee it kept entire, leſt the Goats ſhould break thro', that I never left off till with infinite Labour I had ſtuck the Outſide of the Hedge ſo full of ſmall Stakes, and ſo near to one another, that it was rather a Pale than a Hedge, and there was ſcarce Room to put a Hand thro' between them, which afterwards when thoſe Stakes grew, as they all did in the next rainy Seaſon, made the Incloſure ſtrong like a Wall, indeed ſtronger than any Wall.

This will teſtify for me that I was not idle, and that I ſpared no Pains to bring to paſs whatever appear'd neceſſary for my comfortable Support; for I conſider'd the keeping up a Breed of tame Creatures thus at my Hand, would be a living Magazine of Fleſh, Milk, Butter and Cheeſe, for

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for me as long as I liv'd in the Place, if it were to be forty Years, and that keeping them in my Reach, depended entirely upon my perfecting my Enclosures to such a Degree, that I might be sure of keeping them together; which by this Method indeed I so effectually secur'd, that when these little Stakes began to grow, I had planted them so very thick, I was forced to pull some of them up again.

In this Place also I had my Grapes growing, which I principally depended on for my Winter Store of Raisins; and which I never fail'd to preserve very carefully, as the best and most agreeable Dainty of my whole Diet; and indeed they were not agreeable only, but physical, wholesome, nourishing, and refreshing, to the last Degree.

As this was also about half the Way between my other Habitation and the Place were I had laid up my Boat, I generally stay'd, and lay here in my Way thither; for I used frequently to visit my Boat, and I kept all Things about or belonging to her in very good Order; sometimes I went out in her to divert my self, but no more hazardous Voyages would I go, nor scarce ever above a Stone's Cast or two from the Shore, I was so apprehensive of being hurried out of my Knowledge again by the Currents, or Winds, or any other Accident. But now I come to a new Scene of my Life.

It happen'd one Day about Noon going towards my Boat, I was exceedingly surpriz'd with the Print of a Man's naked Foot on the Shore, which was very plain to be seen in the Sand: I stood like one Thunder-struck, or as if I had seen an Apparition; I listen'd, I look'd round me, I could hear nothing, nor see any thing; I went up to a rising Ground to look farther; I went up the Shore and down the Shore, but it was all one, I could see no other

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Impreſſion but that one, I went to it again to ſee if there were any more, and to obſerve if it might not be my Fancy; but there was no Room for that, for there was exactly the very Print of a Foot, Toes, Heel, and every Part of a Foot; how it came thither, I knew not, nor could in the leaſt imagine. But after innumerable fluttering Thoughts, like a Man perfectly confus'd and out of my ſelf, I came Home to my Fortification, not feeling, as we ſay, the Ground I went on, but terrify'd to the laſt Degree, looking behind me at every two or three Steps, miſtaking every Buſh and Tree, and fancying every Stump at a Diſtance to be a Man; nor is it poſſible to deſcribe how many various Shapes affrighted Imagination repreſented Things to me in; how many wild Ideas were found every Moment in my Fancy, and what ſtrange unaccountable Whimſies came into my Thoughts by the Way.

When I came to my Caſtle, for ſo I think I call'd it ever after this, I fled into it like one purſued; whether I went over by the Ladder as firſt contriv'd, or went in at the Hole in the Rock, which I call'd a Door, I cannot remember; no, nor could I remember the next Morning; for never frighted Hare fled to Cover, or Fox to Earth, with more Terror of Mind than I to this Retreat.

I ſlept none that Night; the farther I was from the Occaſion of my Fright, the greater my Apprehenſions were; which is ſomething contrary to the Nature of ſuch Things, and eſpecially to the uſual Practice of all Creatures in Fear: But I was ſo embarraſs'd with my own frightful Ideas of the Thing, that I form'd nothing but diſmal Imaginations to my ſelf, even tho' I was now a great way off it. Sometimes I fancy'd it muſt be the Devil; and Reaſon joyn'd in with me upon this Suppoſition: For how ſhould any other Thing in human

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man Shape come into the Place? Where was the Veſſel that brought them? What Marks was there of any other Footſteps? And how was it poſſible a Man ſhould come there? But then to think that *Satan* ſhould take human Shape upon him in ſuch a Place where there could be no manner of Occaſion for it, but to leave the Print of his Foot behind him, and that even for no Purpoſe too, for he could not be ſure I ſhould ſee it; this was an Amuſement the other Way: I conſidered that the Devil might have found out abundance of other Ways to have terrify'd me than this of the ſingle Print of a Foot. That as I liv'd quite on the other Side of the Iſland, he would never have been ſo ſimple to leave a Mark in a Place where it was Ten Thouſand to one whether I ſhould ever ſee it or not, and in the Sand too, which the firſt Surge of the Sea upon a high Wind would have defac'd entirely: All this ſeem'd inconſiſtent with the Thing it ſelf, and with all the Notions we uſually entertain of the Subtilty of the Devil.

Abundance of ſuch Things as theſe aſſiſted to argue me out of all Apprehenſions of its being the Devil: And I preſently concluded then, that it muſt be ſome more dangerous Creature. (*viz.*) That it muſt be ſome of the Savages of the main Land over-againſt me, who had wandered out to Sea in their *Canoes*, and either driven by the Currents, or by contrary Winds, had made the Iſland; and had been on Shore, but were gone away again to Sea, being as loth, perhaps, to have ſtay'd in this deſolate Iſland, as I would have been to have had them.

While theſe Reflections were rowling upon my Mind, I was very thankful in my Thoughts, that I was ſo happy as not to be thereabouts at that Time, or that they did not ſee my Boat, by which they would have concluded that ſome Inhabitants

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had been in the Place, and perhaps have search'd farther for me? Then terrible Thoughts rack'd my Imagination about their having found my Boat, and that there were People here; and that if ſo, I ſhould certainly have them come again in greater Numbers and devour me; that if it ſhould happen ſo that they ſhould not find me, yet they would find my Enclоſure, deſtroy all my Corn, carry away all my Flock of tame Goats, and I ſhould periſh at laſt for mere Want.

Thus my Fear baniſh'd all my Religious Hope; all that former Confidence in God, which was founded upon ſuch wonderful Experience as I had had of his Goodneſs, now vaniſh'd, as if he that had fed me by Miracle hitherto, could not preſerve by his Power the Proviſion which he had made for me by his Goodneſs: I reproach'd my ſelf with my Eaſineſs, that would not ſow any more Corn one Year than would juſt ſerve me till the next Seaſon, as if no Accident could intervene to prevent my enjoying the Crop that was upon the Ground; and this I thought ſo juſt a Reproof, that I reſolv'd for the future to have two or three Years Corn before hand, ſo that whatever might come, I might not periſh for want of Bread.

How ſtrange a Chequer-Work of Providence is the Life of Man! and by what ſecret differing Springs are the Affections hurry'd about, as differing Circumſtances preſent! To Day we love what to Morrow we hate; to Day we ſeek what to Morrow we ſhun; to Day we deſire what to Morrow we fear; nay, even tremble at the Apprehenſions of. This was exemplified in me at this time in the moſt lively Manner imaginable; for I whoſe only Affliction was, that I ſeem'd baniſhed from human Society, that I was alone, circumſcrib'd by the boundleſs Ocean, cut off from Mankind, and con-

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demn'd to what I call'd silent Life; that I was as one whom Heaven thought not worthy to be numbered among the Living, or to appear among the rest of his Creatures; that to have seen one of my own Species would have seem'd to me a Raising me from Death to Life, and the greatest Blessing that Heaven itself, next to the supreme Blessing of Salvation, could bestow; I say, that I should now tremble at the very Apprehensions of seeing a Man, and was ready to sink into the Ground at but the Shadow, or silent Appearance of a Man's having set his Foot in the Island.

Such is the uneven State of human Life: And it afforded me a great many curious Speculations afterwards. When I had a little recovered my first Surprize, I consider'd that this was the Station of Life the infinitely wise and good Providence of God had determin'd for me; that as I could not foresee what the Ends of Divine Wisdom might be in all this, so I was not to dispute his Sovereignty, who, as I was his Creature, had an undoubted Right by Creation to govern and dispose of me absolutely as he thought fit; and who, as I was a Creature who had offended him, had likewise a judicial Right to condemn me to what Punishment he thought fit; and that it was my part to submit to bear his Indignation, because I had sinn'd against him.

I then reflected that God, who was not only Righteous but Omnipotent, as he had thought fit thus to punish and afflict me, so he was able to deliver me; that if he did not think fit to do it, it was my unquestion'd Duty to resign my self absolutely and entirely to his Will; and on the other hand, it was my Duty also to hope in him, pray to him, and quietly to attend the Dictates and Directions of his daily Providence.

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These Thoughts took me up many Hours, Days, nay, I may say, Weeks and Months; and one particular Effect of my Cogitations on this Occasion, I cannot omit, *viz.* One Morning early, lying in my Bed, and full'd with Thought about my Danger from the Appearance of Savages, I found it discompos'd me very much; upon which those Words of the Scripture came into my Thoughts, *Call upon me in the Day of Trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me.*

Upon this, rising chearfully out of my Bed, my Heart was not only comforted, but I was guided and encouraged to pray earnestly to God for Deliverance: When I had done praying, I took up my Bible, and opening it to read, the first Words that presented to me, were, *Wait on the Lord, and be of good Cheer, and he shall strengthen thy Heart; wait, I say, on the Lord.* It is impossible to express the Comfort this gave me. In Answer, I thankfully laid down the Book, and was no more sad, at least not on that Occasion.

In the middle of these Cogitations, Apprehensions and Reflections, it came into my Thought one Day, that all this might be a mere Chimera of my own; and that this Foot might be the Print of my own Foot, when I came on Shore from my Boat. This chear'd me up a little too, and I began to perswade my self it was all a Delusion; that it was nothing else but my own Foot; and why might not I come that way from the Boat, as well as I was going that way to the Boat: Again, I consider'd also that I could by no means tell for certain where I had trod, and where I had not; and that if at last this was only the Print of my own Foot, I had play'd the part of those Fools, who strive to make Stories of Spectres and Apparitions, and then are frighted at them more than any body.

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Now I began to take Courage, and to peep abroad again; for I had not ſtirr'd out of my Caſtle for three Days and Nights; ſo that I began to ſtarve for Proviſion; for I had little or nothing within Doors but ſome Barley Cakes and Water. Then I knew that my Goats wanted to be milk'd too, which uſually was my Evening Diverſion; and the poor Creatures were in great Pain and Inconvenience for want of it; and indeed, it almoſt ſpoil'd ſome of them, and almoſt dry'd up their Milk.

Heartning my ſelf therefore with the Belief that this was nothing but the Print of one of my own Feet, and ſo I might be truly ſaid to ſtart at my own Shadow, I began to go abroad again, and went to my Country Houſe to milk my Flock; but to ſee with what Fear I went forward, how often I look'd behind me, how I was ready every now and then to lay down my Basket, and run for my Life, it would have made any one have thought I was haunted with an evil Conſcience, or that I had been lately moſt terribly frighted, and ſo indeed I had.

However, as I went down thus two or three Days, and having ſeen nothing, I began to be a little bolder; and to think there was really nothing in it, but my own Imagination: But I cou'd not perſuade my ſelf fully of this, till I ſhould go down to the Shore again, and ſee this Print of a Foot, and meaſure it by my own, and ſee if there was any Similitude or Fitneſs, that I might be aſſur'd it was my own Foot: But when I came to the Place, *Firſt*, it appeared evidently to me, that when I laid up my Boat, I could not poſſibly be on Shore any where there about. *Secondly*, When I came to meaſure the Mark with my own Foot, I found my Foot not ſo large by a great deal; both theſe Things fill'd my Head with new Imaginations, and gave me the Vapours again, to the higheſt Degree; ſo that I

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shook with cold, like one in an Ague: And I went Home again, fill'd with the Belief that some Man or Men had been on the Shore; or in short, that the Island was inhabited, and I might be surpriz'd before I was aware; and what course to take for my Security I knew not.

O what ridiculous Resolutions Men take, when possess'd with Fear! It deprives them of the Use of those Means which Reason offers for their Relief. The first thing I propos'd to my self, was, to throw down my Enclosures, and turn all my tame Cattle wild into the Woods, that the Enemy might not find them; and then frequent the Island in Prospect of the same, or the like Booty: Then to the simple thing of digging up my two Corn Fields, that they might not find such a Grain there, and still be prompted to frequent the Island; then to demolish my Bower and Tent, that they might not see any Vestiges of Habitation, and be prompted to look farther, in order to find out the Persons inhabiting.

These were the Subject of the first Night's Cogitation, after I was come Home again, while the Apprehensions which had so over-run my Mind were fresh upon me, and my Head was full of Vapours, as above. Thus Fear of danger is ten thousand Times more terrifying than Danger it self, when apparent to the Eyes; and we find the Burthen of Anxiety greater by much, than the Evil which we are anxious about; and which was worse than all this, I had not that Relief in this Trouble from the Resignation I used to practise, which I hop'd to have. I look'd, I thought, like *Saul*, who complain'd not only that the *Philistines* were upon him; but that God had forsaken him; for I did not now take due Ways to compose my Mind, by crying to God in my Distress, and resting upon his Provi-

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dence, as I had done before, for my Defence and Deliverance; which if I had done, I had, at leaſt, been more cheerfully ſupported under this new Surpriſe, and perhaps carry'd through it with more Reſolution.

This confuſion of my Thoughts kept me waking all Night; but in the Morning I fell aſleep, and having by the Amuſement of my Mind, been, as it were tired, and my Spirits exhauſted, I ſlept very ſoundly, and wak'd much better compos'd than I had ever been before: and now I began to think ſedately; and upon the utmoſt Debate with my ſelf, I concluded, That this Iſland, which was ſo exceeding pleaſant, fruitful, and no farther from the main Land than as I had ſeen, was not ſo entirely abandon'd as I might imagine: That altho' there were no ſtated Inhabitants who liv'd on the Spot; yet that there might ſometimes come Boats off from the Shore, who either with Deſign, or perhaps never but when they were driven by croſs Winds might come to this Place.

That I had liv'd here fifteen Years now, and had not met with the leaſt Shadow or Figure of any People yet; and that if at any Time they ſhould be driven here, it was probable they went away again as ſoon as ever they could, ſeeing they had never thought fit to fix there upon any Occaſion, to this Time.

That the moſt I cou'd ſuggeſt any Danger from, was, from any ſuch caſual accidental Landing of ſtraggling People from the Main, who, as it was likely if they were driven hither, were here againſt their Wills; ſo they made no ſtay here, but went off again with all poſſible Speed, ſeldom ſtaying one Night on Shore, leaſt they ſhould not have the Help of the Tides, and Day-light back again; and that therefore I had nothing to do but to conſider

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of some safe Retreat, in case I should see any Savages land upon the Spot.

Now I began sorely to repent, that I had dug my Cave so large, as to bring a Door through again, which Door, as I said, came out beyond where my Fortification joyn'd to the Rock: upon maturely considering this therefore, I resolv'd to draw me a second Fortification, in the same Manner of a Semicircle, at a Distance from my Wall, just where I had planted a double Row of Trees, about twelve Years before, of which I made mention: These Trees having been planted so thick before, they wanted but a few Piles to be driven between them, that they should be thicker, and stronger, and my Wall would be soon finish'd.

So that I had now a double Wall, and my outer Wall was thickned with Pieces of Timber, old Cables, and every Thing I could think of to make it strong; having in it seven little Holes, about as big as I might put my Arm out at: In the Inside of this, I thickned my Wall to above ten Foot thick, with continual bringing Earth out of my Cave, and laying it at the Foot of the Wall, and walking upon it; and through the seven Holes, I contriv'd to plant the Muskets, of which I took Notice, that I got seven on Shore out of the Ship; these, I say, I planted as Cannon, and fitted them into Frames that held them like a Carriage, that so I could fire all the seven Guns in two Minutes time: This Wall I was many a weary Month a finishing, and yet never thought myself safe till it was done.

When this was done, I stuck all the Ground without my Wall, for a great way every way, as full with Stakes or Sticks of the *Osier*-like Wood, which I found so apt to grow, as they could well stand; insomuch, that I believe I might set in near twenty

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twenty thousand of them, leaving a pretty large Space between them and my Wall, that I might have room to see an Enemy, and they might have no shelter from the young Trees, if they attempted to approach my outer Wall.

Thus in two Years time I had a thick Grove, and in five or six Years time I had a Wood before my Dwelling, growing so monstrous thick and strong, that it was indeed perfectly impassable; and no Men of what kind soever, would ever imagine that there was any Thing beyond it, much less a Habitation. As for the Way which I proposed to myself to go in and out, for I left no Avenue, it was by setting two Ladders; one to a Part of the Rock which was low, and then broke in, and left room to place another Ladder upon that; so when the two Ladders were taken down, no Man living could come down to me without mischiefing himself; and if they had come down, they were still on the Out-side of my outer Wall.

Thus I took all the Measures human Prudence could suggest for my own Preservation; and it will be seen at length, that they were not altogether without just Reason; though I foresaw nothing at that Time, more than my mere Fear suggested to me.

While this was doing, I was not altogether careless of my other Affairs; for I had a great Concern upon me, for my little Herd of Goats; they were not only a present Supply to me upon every Occasion, and began to be sufficient to me, without the Expence of Powder and Shot; but also without the Fatigue of Hunting after the wild Ones; and I was loth to lose the Advantage of them, and to have them all to nurse up over again.

To this Purpose, after long Consideration, I could think of but two Ways to preserve them; one

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one was to find another convenient Place to dig a Cave under Ground, and to drive them into it every Night; and the other was to enclose two or three little Bits of Land, remote from one another, and as much conceal'd as I could, where I might keep about half a Dozen young Goats in each Place: So that if any Disaster happen'd to the Flock in general, I might be able to raise them again with little Trouble and Time: And this, tho' it would require a great deal of Time and Labour, I thought was the most rational Design.

Accordingly I spent some Time to find out the most retir'd Parts of the Island; and I pitch'd upon one which was as private indeed as my Heart could wish for; it was a little damp Piece of Ground in the middle of the Hollow and thick Woods, where, as is observ'd, I almost lost myself once before, endeavouring to come back that Way from the Eastern Part of the Island: Here I found a clear Piece of Land near three Acres, so surrounded with Woods, that it was almost an Enclosure by Nature, at least it did not want near so much Labour to make it so, as the other Pieces of Ground I had work'd so hard at.

I immediately went to work with this Piece of Ground, and in less than a Month's Time, I had so fenc'd it round, that my Flock or Herd, call it which you please, who were not so wild now as at first they might be supposed to be, were well enough secur'd in it. So without any farther Delay, I removed ten young She-Goats and two He-Goats to this Piece; and when they were there, I continu'd to perfect the Fence till I had made it as secure as the other, which, however, I did at more Leisure, and it took me up more Time by a great deal.

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All this Labour I was at the Expence of, purely from my Apprehenſions on the Account of the Print of a Man's Foot which I had ſeen; for as yet I never ſaw any humane Creature come near the Iſland, and I had now liv'd two Years under theſe Uneaſineſſes, which indeed made my Life much leſs comfortable than it was before; as may well be imagin'd by any who know what it is to live in the conſtant Snare of *the Fear of Man*; and this I muſt obſerve with Grief too, that the Diſcompoſure of my Mind had too great Impreſſions alſo upon the religious Part of my Thoughts, for the Dread and Terror of falling into the Hands of Savages and Canibals lay ſo upon my Spirits, that I ſeldom found my ſelf in a due Temper for Application to my Maker, at leaſt not with the ſedate Calmneſs and Reſignation of Soul which I was wont to do; I rather pray'd to God as under great Affliction and Preſſure of Mind, ſurrounded with Danger, and in Expectation every Night of being murder'd and devour'd before Morning; and I muſt teſtify from my Experience, that a Temper of Peace, Thankfulneſs, Love and Affection, is much the more proper Frame for Prayer than that of Terror and Diſcompoſure; and that under the Dread of Miſchief impending, a Man is no more fit for a comforting Performance of the Duty of praying to God, than he is for Repentance on a Sick-bed: For theſe Diſcompoſures affect the Mind as the others do the Body; and the Diſcompoſure of the Mind muſt neceſſarily be as great a Diſability as that of the Body, and much greater, praying to God being properly an Act of the Mind, not of the Body.

But to go on; After I had thus ſecur'd one Part of my little living Stock, I went about the whole Iſland, ſearching for another private Place, to make

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ſuch and her Depoſit; when wandring more to the *Weſt* Point of the Iſland than I had ever done yet, and looking out to Sea, I thought I ſaw a Boat upon the Sea, at a great Diſtance; I had found a Proſpective-Glaſs, or two, in one of the Seamen's Cheſts, which I ſav'd out of our Ships; but I had it not about me, and this was ſo remote, that I could not tell what to make of it; though I look'd at it till my Eyes were not able to hold to look any longer; whether it was a Boat, or not, I do not know; but as I deſcended from the Hill, I could ſee no more of it, ſo I gave it over; only I reſolv'd to go no more out without a Proſpective-Glaſs in my Pocket.

When I was come down the Hill, to the End of the Iſland, where indeed I had never been before, I was preſently convinc'd, that the ſeeing the Print of a Man's Foot, was not ſuch a ſtrange Thing in the Iſland as I imagin'd; and but that it was a ſpecial Providence that I was caſt upon the Side of the Iſland, where the Savages never came, I ſhould eaſily have known, that nothing was more frequent than for the *Canoes* from the Main, when they happen'd to be a little too far out at Sea, to ſhoot over to that Side of the Iſland for Harbour; likewiſe as they often met, and fought in their *Canoes*, the Victors having taken any Priſoners, would bring them over to this Shore, where, according to their dreadful Cuſtoms, being all *Canibals*, they would kill and eat them; of which hereafter.

When I was come down the Hill to the Shore, as I ſaid above, being the *S. W.* Point of the Iſland, I was perfectly confounded and amaz'd; nor is it poſſible for me to expreſs the Horror of my Mind, at ſeeing the Shore ſpread with Skulls, Hands, Feet, and other Bones of humane Bodies; and particularly I obſerv'd a Place where there had been

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been a Fire made, and a Circle dug in the Earth, like a Cockpit, where it is supposed the Savage Wretches had sat down to their inhumane Feastings upon the Bodies of their Fellow-Creatures.

I was so astonish'd with the Sight of these Things, that I entertain'd no Notions of any Danger to my self from it for a long while; all my Apprehensions were buried in the Thoughts of such a Pitch of inhumane, hellish Brutality, and the Horror of the Degeneracy of humane Nature; which tho' I had heard of often, yet I never had so near a View of before; in short, I turned away my Face from the horrid Spectacle; my Stomach grew sick, and I was just at the Point of Fainting, when Nature discharg'd the Disorder from my Stomach; and having vomited with an uncommon Violence, I was a little reliev'd; but could not bear to stay in the Place a Moment; so I got me up the Hill again, with all the Speed I could, and walk'd on towards my own Habitation.

When I came a little out of that Part of the Island, I stood still a while as amaz'd; and then recovering my self, I look'd up with the utmost Affection of my Soul, and with a Flood of Tears in my Eyes, gave God Thanks that had cast my first Lot in a Part of the World, where I was distinguish'd from such dreadful Creatures as these; and that tho' I had esteem'd my present Condition very miserable, had yet given me so many Comforts in it, that I had still more to give Thanks for than to complain of; and this above all, that I had even in this miserable Condition been comforted with the Knowledge of himself, and the Hope of his Blessing, which was a Felicity more than sufficiently equivalent to all the Misery which I had suffer'd, or could suffer.

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In this Frame of Thankfulneſs, I went Home to my Caſtle, and began to be much eaſier now, as to the Safety of my Circumſtances, than ever I was before; for I obſerv'd that theſe Wretches never came to this Iſland in ſearch of what they could get; perhaps not ſeeking, not wanting, or not expecting any Thing here; and having often, no doubt, been up in the cover'd woody Part of it, without finding any Thing to their Purpoſe. I knew I had been here now almoſt eighteen Years, and never ſaw the leaſt Foot-ſteps of humane Creature there before; and I might be here eighteen more as entirely conceal'd as I was now, if I did not diſcover my ſelf to them, which I had no manner of Occaſion to do, it being my only Buſineſs to keep my ſelf entirely concealed where I was, unleſs I found a better ſort of Creatures than *Canibals* to make my ſelf known to.

Yet I entertain'd ſuch an Abhorrence of the Savage Wretches, that I have been ſpeaking of, and of the wretched inhumane Cuſtom of their devouring and eating one another up, that I continu'd penſive, and ſad, and kept cloſe within my own Circle for almoſt two Years after this: When I ſay my own Circle, I mean by it, my three Plantations, *viz.* my Caſtle, my Country Seat, which I call'd my Bower, and my Encloſure in the Woods; nor did I look after this for any other Uſe than as an Encloſure for my Goats; for the Averſion which Nature gave me to theſe helliſh Wretches was ſuch, that I was fearful of ſeeing them, as of ſeeing the Devil himſelf; nor did I ſo much as go to look after my Boat in all this time; but began rather to think of making me another; for I could not think of ever making any more Attempts, to bring the other Boat round the Iſland to me, leſt I ſhould meet with ſome of theſe Creatures at Sea,

in which, if I had happen'd to have fallen into their Hands, I knew what would have been my Lot.

Time however, and the Satisfaction I had, that I was in no Danger of being discovered by these People, began to wear off my Uneasiness about them; and I began to live just in the same compos'd Manner as before; only with this Difference, that I used more Caution, and kept my Eyes more about me than I did before, lest I should happen to be seen by any of them; and particularly, I was more cautious of firing my Gun, lest any of them being on the Island, should happen to hear of it; and it was therefore a very good Providence to me, that I had furnish'd my self with a tame Breed of Goats, that I needed not hunt any more about the Woods, or shoot at them; and if I did catch any of them after this, it was by Traps, and Snares, as I had done before; so that for two Years after this, I believe I never fir'd my Gun once off, tho' I never went out without it; and which was more, as I had sav'd three Pistols out of the Ship, I always carried them out with me, or at least two of them, sticking them in my Goat-Skin Belt; also I furbish'd up one of the great Cutlashes, that I had out of the Ship, and made me a Belt to put it on also; so that I was now a most formidable Fellow to look at, when I went abroad, if you add to the former Description of my self, the Particular of two Pistols, and a great broad Sword hanging at my Side in a Belt, but without a Scabbard.

Things going on thus, as I have said, for some Time; I seem'd, excepting these Cautions, to be reduc'd to my former calm sedate way of Living, all these Things tended to shewing me more and more how far my Condition was from being miserable, compared to some others; nay, to many other Particulars of Life, which it might have plea-

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ſed God to have made my Lot. It put me upon reflecting, how little repining there would be among Mankind, at any Condition of Life, if People would rather compare their Condition with thoſe that are worſe, in order to be thankful, than be always comparing them with thoſe which are better, to aſſiſt their Murmurings and Complainings.

As in my preſent Condition there were not really many Things which I wanted; ſo indeed I thought that the Frights I had been in about theſe ſavage Wretches, and the Concern I had been in for my own Preſervation, had taken off the Edge of my Invention for my own Conveniences; and I had drop'd a good Deſign, which I had once bent my Thoughts too much upon; and that was, to try if I could not make ſome of my Barley into Malt, and then try to brew my ſelf ſome Beer: This was really a whimſical Thought, and I reprov'd my ſelf often for the Simplicity of it; for I preſently ſaw there would be the Want of ſeveral Things neceſſary to the making my Beer, that it would be impoſſible for me to ſupply: As Firſt, Casks to preſerve it in, which was a Thing, that as I have obſerv'd already, I could never compaſs; no, tho' I ſpent not many Days, but Weeks, nay Months in attempting it, but to no purpoſe. In the next Place, I had no Hops to make it keep, no Yeaſt to make it work, no Copper or Kettle to make it boil; and yet all theſe Things, notwithſtanding, I verily believe, had not theſe Things interven'd, I mean the Frights and Terrors I was in about the Savages, I had undertaken it, and perhaps brought it to paſs too; for I ſeldom gave any Thing over without accompliſhing it, when I once had it in my Head enough to begin it.

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But my Invention now run quite another Way; for Night and Day I could think of nothing but how I might deſtroy ſome of theſe Monſters in their cruel bloody Entertainment, and, if poſſible, ſave the Victim they ſhould bring hither to deſtroy. It would take up a larger Volume than this whole Work is intended to be, to ſet down all the Contrivances I hatch'd, or rather brooded upon in my Thought, for the deſtroying theſe Creatures, or at leaſt frighting them, ſo as to prevent their coming hither any more; but all was abortive, nothing could be poſſible to take Effect, unleſs I was to be there to do it my ſelf; and what could one Man do among them, when perhaps there might be twenty or thirty of them together, with their Darts, or their Bows and Arrows, with which they could ſhoot as true to a Mark, as I could with my Gun?

Sometimes I contriv'd to dig a Hole under the Place where they made their Fire, and put in five or ſix Pounds of Gun-powder, which when they kindled their Fire, would conſequently take Fire, and blow up all that was near it; but as in the firſt Place I ſhould be very loth to waſt ſo much Powder upon them, my Store being now within the Quantity of one Barrel; ſo neither could I be ſure of its going off, at any certain time, when it might ſurprize them, and at beſt, that it would do little more than juſt blow the Fire about their Ears and fright them, but not ſufficient to make them forſake the Place; ſo I laid it aſide, and then propos'd, that I would place my ſelf in Ambuſh, in ſome convenient Place, with my three Guns, all double loaded; and in the middle of their bloody Ceremony let fly at them, when I ſhould be ſure to kill or wound perhaps two or three at every ſhoot; and then falling in upon them with my three Piſtols,

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and my Sword, I made no doubt but that if there was twenty I ſhould kill them all. This Fancy pleas'd my Thoughts for ſome Weeks, and I was ſo full of it, that I often dream'd of it; and ſometimes, that I was juſt going to let fly at them in my Sleep.

I went ſo far with it in my Imagination, that I employ'd my ſelf ſeveral Days to find out proper Places to put my ſelf in Ambuſcade, as I ſaid, to watch for them; and I went frequently to the Place it ſelf, which was now grown more familiar to me; and eſpecially while my Mind was thus fill'd with Thoughts of Revenge, and of a bloody putting twenty or thirty of them to the Sword, as I may call it; the Horror I had at the Place, and at the Signals of the barbarous Wretches devouring one another, abated my Malice.

Well, at length I found a Place in the Side of the Hill, where I was ſatisfy'd I might ſecurely wait, till I ſaw any of their Boats coming, and might then, even before they would be ready to come on Shore, convey my ſelf unſeen into Thickets of Trees, in one of which there was a Hollow large enough to conceal me entirely; and where I might ſit, and obſerve all their bloody Doings, and take my full aim at their Heads, when they were ſo cloſe together, as that it would be next to impoſſible that I ſhould miſs my Shoot, or that I could fail wounding three or four of them at the firſt Shoot.

In this Place then I reſolved to fix my Deſign, and accordingly I prepar'd two Muskets and my ordinary Fowling-piece. The two Muskets I loaded with a Brace of Slugs each, and four or five ſmaller Bullets, about the Size of Piſtol Bullets; and the Fowling-piece I loaded with near a Handful of Swan-ſhot, of the largeſt Size; I alſo loaded my Piſtols with about four Bullets each, and in this Poſture,

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Posture, well provided with Ammunition for a second and third Charge, I prepar'd my self for my Expedition.

After I had thus laid the Scheme of my Design, and in my Imagination put it in Practice, I continually made my Tour every Morning up to the Top of the Hill, which was from my Castle, as I call'd it, about three Miles, or more, to see if I could observe any Boats upon the Sea, coming near the Island, or standing over towards it; but I began to tire of this hard Duty, after I had for two or three Months constantly kept my Watch; but came always back without any Discovery, there having not in all that Time been the least Appearance, not only on, or near the Shore; but not on the whole Ocean, so far as my Eyes or Glasses could reach every Way.

As long as I kept up my daily Tour to the Hill to look out, so long also I kept up the Vigour of my Design, and my Spirits seem'd to be all the while in a suitable Form, for so outragious an Execution as the killing twenty or thirty naked Savages, for an Offence which I had not at all entred into a Discussion of in my Thoughts, any further than my Passions were at first fir'd by the Horror I conceiv'd at the unnatural Custom of that People of the Country, who it seems had been suffer'd by Providence, in his wise Disposition of the World, to have no other Guide than that of their own abominable and vitiated Passions; and consequently were left, and perhaps had been so for some Ages, to act such horrid Things, and receive such dreadful Customs, as nothing but Nature entirely abandon'd of Heaven, and acted by some hellish Degeneracy, could have run them into: But now when, as I have said, I began to be weary of the fruitless Excursion which I had made so long, and so far, every

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ry Morning in vain, so my Opinion of the Action itself began to alter, and I began with cooler and calmer Thoughts to consider what it was I was going to engage in. What Authority or Call I had, to pretend to be Judge and Executioner upon these Men as Criminals, whom Heaven had thought fit for so many Ages to suffer, unpunish'd, to go on, and to be, as it were, the Executioners of his Judgments one upon another. How far these People were Offenders against me, and what Right I had to engage in the Quarrel of that Blood, which they shed promiscuously one upon another. I debated this very often with my self thus; How do I know what God himself judges in this particular Case? it is certain these People do not commit this as a Crime; it is not against their own Consciences reproving, or their Light reproaching them. They do not know it to be an Offence, and then commit it in Defiance of divine Justice, as we do in almost all the Sins we commit. They think it no more a Crime to kill a Captive taken in War, than we do to kill an Ox; nor to eat humane Flesh, than we do to eat Mutton.

When I had consider'd this a little, it follow'd necessarily, that I was certainly in the Wrong in it; that these People were not Murderers in the Sense that I had before condemned them in my Thoughts; any more than those Christians were Murderers, who often put to Death the Prisoners taken in Battle; or more frequently, upon many Occasions, put whole Troops of Men to the Sword, without giving Quarter, tho' they threw down their Arms and submitted.

In the next Place it occur'd me, that albeit the Usage they thus gave one another was thus brutish and inhumane; yet it was really nothing to me: These People had done me no Injury. That if they attempted

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attempted me, or I saw it necessary for my immediate Preservation to fall upon them, something might be said for it; but that as I was yet out of their Power, and they had really no Knowledge of me, and consequently no Design upon me; and therefore it could not be just for me to fall upon them. That this would justify the Conduct of the *Spaniards* in all their Barbarities practis'd in *America*, where they destroy'd Millions of these People, who, however they were Idolaters and Barbarians, and had several bloody and barbarous Rites in their Customs, such as sacrificing humane Bodies to their Idols, were yet, as to the *Spaniards*, very innocent People; and that the rooting them out of the Country, is spoken of with the utmost Abhorrence and Detestation, by even the *Spaniards* themselves, at this Time, and by all other Christian Nations of *Europe*, as a mere Butchery, a bloody and unnatural Piece of Cruelty, unjustifiable either to God or Man; and such, as for which the very Name of a *Spaniard* is reckon'd to be frightful and terrible to all People of Humanity, or of Christian Compassion: As if the Kingdom of *Spain* were particularly Eminent for the Product of a Race of Men, who were without Principles of Tenderness, or the common Bowels of Pity to the Miserable, which is reckon'd to be a Mark of generous Temper in the Mind.

These Considerations really put me to a Pause and to a kind of a full Stop; and I began by little and little to be off of my Design, and to conclude, I had taken wrong Measures in my Resolutions to attack the Savages; that it was not my Business to meddle with them, unless they first attack'd me, and this it was my Business if possible to prevent; but that if I were discover'd, and attack'd, then I knew my Duty.

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On the other hand, I argu'd with my ſelf, That this really was the way not to deliver my ſelf, but entirely to ruin and deſtroy my ſelf; for unleſs I was ſure to kill every one that not only ſhould be on Shore at that Time, but that ſhould ever come on Shore afterwards, if but one of them eſcap'd, to tell their Country People what had happen'd, they would come over again by Thouſands to revenge the Death of their Fellows, and I ſhould only bring upon my ſelf a certain Deſtruction, which at preſent I had no manner of Occaſion for.

Upon the whole I concluded, that neither in Principles nor in Policy, I ought one Way or other to concern my ſelf in this Affair. That my Buſineſs was by all poſſible Means to conceal my ſelf from them, and not to leave the leaſt Signal to them to gueſs by, that there were any living Creatures upon the Iſland; I mean of humane Shape.

Religion join'd in with this Prudential, and I was convinc'd now many Ways, that I was perfectly out of my Duty, when I was laying all my bloody Schemes for the Deſtruction of innocent Creatures, I mean innocent as to me: As to the Crimes they were guilty of towards one another, I had nothing to do with them; they were national, and I ought to leave them to the Juſtice of God, who is the Governour of Nations, and knows how by national Puniſhments to make a juſt Retribution for national Offences; and to bring publick Judgments upon thoſe who offend in a publick Manner, by ſuch Ways as beſt pleaſes him.

This appear'd ſo clear to me now, that nothing was a greater Satisfaction to me, than that I had not been ſuffer'd to do a Thing which I now ſaw ſo much Reaſon to believe would have been no leſs a Sin, than that of wilful Murder, if I had committed

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mitted it; and I gave most humble Thanks on my Knees to God, that had thus delivered me from Blood-guiltiness; beseeching him to grant me the Protection of his Providence, that I might not fall into the Hands of the *Barbarians*; or that I might not lay my Hands upon them, unless I had a more clear Call from Heaven to do it, in Defence of my own Life.

In this Disposition I continued for near a Year after this; and so far was I from desiring an Occasion for falling upon these Wretches, that in all that Time I never once went up the Hill to see whether there were any of them in Sight, or to know whether any of them had been on Shore there, or not, that I might not be tempted to renew any of my Contrivances against them, or be provoked by any Advantage which might present it self to fall upon them; only this I did, I went and removed my Boat, which I had on the other Side the Island, and carried it down to the *East*-End of the whole Island, where I ran it into a little Cove which I found under some high Rocks, and where I knew, by reason of the Currents, the Savages durst not, at least would not come with their Boats, upon any Account whatsoever.

With my Boat I carried away every Thing that I had left there belonging to her, tho' not necessary for the bare going thither, *viz.* A Mast and Sail which I had made for her, and a Thing like an Anchor, but indeed which could not be call'd either Anchor or Grapling; however, it was the best I could make of its kind: All these I removed, that there might not be the least Shadow of any Discovery, or any Appearance of any Boat, or of any humane Habitation upon the Island.

Besides this, I kept my self, as I said, more retired than ever, and seldom went from my Cell, other

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ther than upon my constant Employment, *viz.* To milk my She-Goats, and manage my little Flock, in the Wood; which, as it was quite on the other Part of the Island, was quite out of Danger; for certain it is, that these savage People, who sometimes haunted this Island, never came with any Thoughts of finding any Thing here; and consequently never wandred off from the Coast; and I doubt not, but they might have been several Times on Shore, after my Apprehensions of them had made me cautious as well as before; and indeed, I look'd back with some Horror upon the Thoughts of what my Condition would have been, if I had chop'd upon them, and been discovered before that, when naked and unarm'd, except with one Gun, and that loaden often only with small Shot, I walk'd every where peeping, and peeping about the Island, to see what I could get; what a Surprize should I have been in, if when I discover'd the Print of a Man's Foot, I had instead of that seen fifteen or twenty Savages, and found them pursuing me, and by the Swiftness of their Running, no Possibility of my escaping them.

The Thoughts of this sometimes sunk my very Soul within me, and distress'd my Mind so much, that I could not soon recover it, to think what I should have done, and how I not only should not have been able to resist them, but even should not have had Presence of Mind enough to do what I might have done; much less, what now after so much Consideration and Preparation I might be able to do: Indeed, after serious thinking of these Things, I should be very Melancholy, and sometimes it would last a great while; but I resolv'd it at last all into Thankfulness to that Providence, which had delivered me from so many unseen Dangers, and had kept me from those Mischiefs which

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I could no way have been the Agent in delivering my self from; because I had not the least Notion of any such Thing depending, or the least Supposition of it being possible.

This renew'd a Contemplation, which often had come to my Thoughts in former Time, when first I began to see the merciful Dispositions of Heaven, in the Dangers we run through in this Life. How wonderfully we are deliver'd, when we know nothing of it. How when we are in (a *Quandary*, as we call it) a Doubt or Hesitation, whether to go this Way, or that Way, a secret Hint shall direct us this Way, when we intended to go that Way; nay, when Sense, our own Inclination, and perhaps Business has call'd to go the other Way, yet a strange Impression upon the Mind, from we know not what Springs, and by we know not what Power, shall over-rule us to go this Way; and it shall afterwards appear, that had we gone that Way which we should have gone, and even to our Imagination ought to have gone, we should have been ruin'd and lost: Upon these, and many like Reflections, I afterwards made it a certain Rule with me, That whenever I found those secret Hints, or Pressings of my Mind, to doing, or not doing any Thing that presented; or to going this Way, or that Way, I never fail'd to obey the secret Dictate; though I knew no other Reason for it, than that such a Pressure, or such a Hint hung upon my Mind: I could give many Examples of the Success of this Conduct in the Course of my Life; but more especially in the latter Part of my inhabiting this unhappy Island; besides many Occasions which it is very likely I might have taken Notice of, if I had seen with the same Eyes then, that I saw with now: But 'tis never too late to be wise; and I cannot but advise all considering Men, whose Lives are attended with such extraordinary

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traordinary Incidents as mine, or even though not so extraordinary, not to slight such secret Intimations of Providence, let them come from what invisible Intelligence they will, that I shall not discuss, and perhaps cannot account for; but certainly they are a Proof of the Converse of Spirits, and the secret Communication between those embody'd, and those unembody'd; and such a Proof as can never be withstood: Of which I shall have occasion to give some very remarkable Instances, in the Remainder of my solitary Residence in this dismal Place.

I believe the Reader of this will not think strange, if I confess that these Anxieties, these constant Dangers I liv'd in, and the Concern that was now upon me, put an End to all Invention, and to all the Contrivances that I had laid for my future Accommodations and Conveniencies. I had the Care of my Safety more now upon my Hands, than that of my Food. I car'd not to drive a Nail, or chop a Stick of Wood now, for fear the Noise I should make should be heard; much less would I fire a Gun, for the same Reason; and above all, I was intolerably uneasy at making any Fire, lest the Smoak, which is visible at a great Distance in the Day, should betray me; and for this Reason, I remov'd that Part of my Business which requir'd Fire, such as burning of Pots and Pipes, &c. into my new Apartment in the Woods, where after I had been some Time, I found, to my unspeakable Consolation, a mere natural Cave in the Earth, which went in a vast way, and where, I dare say, no Savage had been at the Mouth of it, would be so hardy as to venture in, nor indeed would any Man else; but one who, like me, wanted nothing so much as a safe Retreat.

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The Mouth of this Hollow was at the Bottom of a great Rock, where, by mere Accident (I would say, if I did not see abundant Reason to ascribe all such Things now to Providence) I was cutting down some thick Branches of Trees, to make Charcoal; and before I go on, I must observe the Reason of my making this Charcoal; which was thus:

I was afraid of making a Smoak about my Habitation, as I said before; and yet I could not live there without baking my Bread, cooking my Meat, &c. so I contriv'd to burn some Wood here, as I had seen done in *England* under Turf, till it became Chark, or dry Coal; and then putting the Fire out, I preserv'd the Coal to carry Home, and perform the other Services which Fire was wanting for at Home, without Danger of Smoak.

But this by the by. While I was cutting down some Wood here, I perceiv'd that behind a very thick Branch of low Brush-wood, or Under-wood, there was a kind of hollow Place; I was curious to look into it, and getting with Difficulty into the Mouth of it, I found it was pretty large, that is to say, sufficient for me to stand upright in it, and perhaps another with me; but I must confess to you, I made more Haste out than I did in, when looking further into the Place, and which was perfectly dark, I saw two broad shining Eyes of some Creature, whether Devil or Man, I knew not, which twinkled like two Stars, the dim Light from the Cave's Mouth shining directly in, and making the Reflection.

However, after some Pause, I recover'd my self, and began to call my self a thousand Fools, and tell my self, that he that was afraid to see the Devil, was not fit to live twenty Years in an Island all alone; and that I durst to believe there was no-

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thing in this Cave that was more frightful than my ſelf; upon this, plucking up my Courage, I took up a great Firebrand, and in I ruſh'd again, with the Stick flaming in my Hand; I had not gone three Steps in, but I was almoſt as much frighted as I was before; for I heard a very loud Sigh, like that of a Man in ſome Pain, and it was follow'd by a broken Noiſe, as if of Words half expreſs'd, and then a deep Sigh again: I ſtep'd back, and was, indeed, ſtruck with ſuch a Surprize, that it put me into a cold Sweat; and if I had had a Hat on my Head, I will not anſwer for it, that my Hair might not have lifted it off. But ſtill plucking up my Spirits as well as I could, and encouraging my ſelf a little, with conſidering that the Power and Preſence of God was every where, and was able to protect me; upon this I ſtep'd forward again, and by the Light of the Firebrand, holding it up a little over my Head, I ſaw lying on the Ground a moſt monſtrous frightful old He-goat, juſt making his Will, as we ſay, and gaſping for Life, and dying indeed of mere old Age.

I ſtir'd him a little, to ſee if I could get him out, and he eſſay'd to get up, but was not able to raiſe himſelf; and I thought with my ſelf, he might even lie there; for if he had frighted me ſo, he would certainly fright any of the Savages, if any of them ſhould be ſo hardy as to come in there, while he had any Life in him.

I was now recover'd from my Surprize, and began to look round me, when I found the Cave was but very ſmall, that is to ſay, it might be about twelve Foot over, but in no manner of Shape, either round or ſquare, no Hands having ever been employ'd in making it, but thoſe of mere Nature: I obſerv'd alſo, that there was a Place at the further Side of it, that went in further, but was ſo

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low, that it requir'd me to creep upon my Hands and Knees to go into it, and whither I went I knew not; so having no Candle, I gave it over for some Time; but resolv'd to come again the next Day provided with Candles, and a Tinder-box, which I had made of the Lock of one of the Muskets, with some Wild-fire in the Pan.

Accordingly, the next Day I came provided with six large Candles of my own making; for I made very good Candles now of Goat's Tallow; and going into this low Place, I was oblig'd to creep upon all Fours, as I have said, almost ten Yards; which, by the way, I thought was a Venture bold enough, considering that I knew not how far it might go, nor what was beyond it. When I was got through the Strait, I found the Roof rose higher up, I believe near twenty Foot; but never was such a glorious Sight seen in the Island, I dare say, as it was, to look round the Sides and Roof of this Vault or Cave; the Walls reflected a hundred thousand Lights to me from my two Candles; what it was in the Rock, whether Diamonds, or any other precious Stones, or Gold, which I rather suppos'd it to be, I knew not.

The Place I was in, was a most delightful Cavity, or Grotto, of its kind, as could be expected, though perfectly dark; the Floor was dry and level, and had a sort of small loose Gravel upon it, so that there was no nauseous or venomous Creature to be seen, neither was there any Damp or Wet on the Sides or Roof: The only Difficulty in it was the Entrance, which, however, as it was a Place of Security, and such a Retreat as I wanted, I thought that was a Convenience; so that I was really rejoic'd at the Discovery, and resolv'd, without any Delay, to bring some of those Things which I was most anxious about to this

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Place; particularly, I resolv'd to bring hither my Magazine of Powder, and all my spare Arms, *viz.* Two Fowling-Pieces, (for I had three in all) and three Muskets, (for of them I had eight in all; so I kept at my Castle only five, which stood ready mounted, like Pieces of Cannon, on my outmost Fence; and were ready also to take out upon any Expedition.

Upon this Occasion of removing my Ammunition, I took Occasion to open the Barrel of Powder which I took up out of the Sea, and which had been wet; and I found that the Water had penetrated about three or four Inches into the Powder on every Side, which caking and growing hard, had preserv'd the inside like a Kernel in a Shell; so that I had near sixty Pounds of very good Powder in the Centre of the Cask, and this was an agreeable Discovery to me at that Time; so I carry'd all away thither, never keeping above two or three Pounds of Powder with me in my Castle, for fear of a Surprize of any Kind: I also carry'd thither all the Lead I had left for Bullets.

I fancy'd my self now like one of the ancient Giants, which were said to live in Caves and Holes in the Rocks, where none could come at them; for I perswaded my self, while I was here, if five hundred Savages were to hunt me, they could never find me out; or if they did, they would not venture to attack me here.

The old Goat, who I found expiring, dy'd in the Mouth of the Cave, the next Day after I made this Discovery; and I found it much easier to dig a great Hole there, and throw him in, and cover him with Earth, than to drag him out: So I interr'd him there, to prevent Offence to my Nose.

I was

I was now in my twenty-third Year of Reſidence in this Iſland, and was ſo naturaliz'd to the Place, and to the Manner of Living, that could I have but enjoy'd the Certainty, that no Savages would come to the Place to diſturb me, I could have been content to have capitulated for ſpending the reſt of my Time there, even to the laſt Moment, till I had laid me down and dy'd, like the old Goat in the Cave. I had alſo arriv'd to ſome little Diverſions and Amuſements, which made the Time paſs more pleaſantly with me a great deal, than it did before; as firſt, I had taught my *Poll*, as I noted before, to ſpeak; and he did it ſo familiarly, and talk'd ſo articulately and plain, that it was very pleaſant to me: and he liv'd with me no leſs than ſix and twenty Years. How long he might live afterwards, I know not; tho' I know they have a Notion in the *Braſils*, that they live a hundred Years; perhaps poor *Poll* may be alive there ſtill, calling after *Poor Robin Cruſoe* to this Day. I wiſh no *Engliſhman* the ill Luck to come there and hear him; but if he did, he would certainly believe it was the Devil. My Dog was a very pleaſant and loving Companion to me for no leſs than ſixteen Years of my Time, and then dy'd of mere old Age; as for my Cats, they multiply'd, as I have obſerv'd, to that Degree, that I was oblig'd to ſhoot ſeveral of them at firſt, to keep them from devouring me and all I had; but at length, when the two old ones, I brought with me, were gone, and after ſome Time continually driving them from me, and letting them have no Proviſion with me, they all ran wild into the Woods, except two or three Favourites, which I kept tame; and whoſe Young, when they had any, I always drown'd; and theſe were Part of my Family. Beſides theſe, I always kept two or three houſhold Kids about me, which I

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taught to feed out of my Hand; and I had two more Parrots which talk'd pretty well, and would all call *Robin Crusoe*, but none like my first; nor, indeed, did I take the Pains with any of them that I had done with him. I had also several tame Sea-Fowls, whose Names I know not, who I caught upon the Shore, and cut their Wings; and the little Stakes which I had planted before my Castle-Wall being now grown up to a good thick Grove, these Fowls all liv'd among these low Trees, and bred there, which was very agreeable to me; so that, as I said above, I began to be very well contented with the Life I led, if it might but have been secur'd from the Dread of the Savages.

But it was otherwise directed; and it may not be amiss for all People who shall meet with my Story, to make this just Observation from it, *viz.* How frequently, in the Course of our Lives, the Evil which in itself we seek most to shun, and which, when we are fallen into, is the most dreadful to us, is oftentimes the very Means or Door of our Deliverance, by which alone we can be rais'd again from the Affliction we are fallen into. I could give many Examples of this in the Course of my unaccountable Life; but in nothing was it more particularly remarkable than in the Circumstances of my last Year's solitary Residence in this Island.

It was now the Month of *December*, as I said above, in my twenty-third Year; and this being the southern Solstice, for Winter I cannot call it, was the particular Time of my Harvest, and requir'd my being pretty much abroad in the Fields; when going out pretty early in the Morning, even before it was thorow Day-light, I was surpriz'd with seeing a Light of some Fire upon the Shore, at a Distance from me, of about two Miles, towards the End of the Island, where I had observ'd some Sa-

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vages had been, as before, but not on the other Side; but, to my great Affliction, it was on my Side of the Island.

I was, indeed, terribly surpriz'd at the Sight, and step'd short within my Grove, not daring to go out, lest I might be surpriz'd; and yet I had no more Peace within, from the Apprehensions I had, that if these Savages, in rambling over the Island, should find my Corn standing, or cut, or any of my Works and Improvements, they would immediately conclude, that there were People in the Place, and would then never give over till they had found me out: In this Extremity I went back directly to my Castle, pull'd up the Ladder after me, and made all Things without look as wild and natural as I could.

Then I prepar'd my self within, putting my self in a Posture of Defence; I loaded all my Cannon, as I call'd them; that is to say, my Muskets, which were mounted upon my new Fortification, and all my Pistols, and resolv'd to defend my self to the last Gasp, not forgetting seriously to commend my self to the divine Protection, and earnestly to pray to God to deliver me out of the Hands of the Barbarians; and in this Posture I continu'd about two Hours, but began to be mighty impatient for Intelligence abroad, for I had no Spies to send out.

After sitting a while longer, and musing what I should do in this Case, I was not able to bear sitting in Ignorance any longer; so setting up my Ladder to the Side of the Hill, where there was a flat Place, as I observ'd before, and then pulling the Ladder up after me, I set it up again, and mounted to the Top of the Hill; and pulling out my Prospective-Glass, which I had taken on Purpose, I laid me down flat on my Belly on the Ground, and began to look for the Place. I pre-

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ſently found there was no leſs than nine naked Savages ſitting round a ſmall Fire, they had made, not to warm them, for they had no need of that, the Weather being extream hot; but, as I ſuppos'd, to dreſs ſome of their barbarous Diet of humane Fleſh, which they had brought with them, whether alive or dead, I could not know.

They had two *Canoes* with them, which they had haled up upon the Shore; and as it was then Tide of Ebb, they ſeem'd to me to wait for the Return of the Flood, to go away again; it is not eaſy to imagine what Confuſion this Sight put me into, eſpecially ſeeing them come on my Side the Iſland, and ſo near me too; but when I obſerv'd their coming muſt be always with the Current of the Ebb, I began afterwards to be more ſedate in my Mind, being ſatisfy'd that I might go abroad with Safety all the Time of the Tide of Flood, if they were not on Shore before: And having made this Obſervation, I went abroad about my Harveſt Work with the more Compoſure.

As I expected, ſo it prov'd; for as ſoon as the Tide made to the Weſtward, I ſaw them all take Boat, and row (or paddle, as we call it) all away: I ſhould have obſerv'd, that for an Hour and more before they went off, they went to dancing, and I could eaſily diſcern their Poſtures and Geſtures by my Glaſſes: I could not perceive, by my niceſt Obſervation, but that they were ſtark naked, and had not the leaſt Covering upon them; but whether they were Men or Women, that I could not diſtinguiſh.

As ſoon as I ſaw them ſhip'd and gone, I took two Guns upon my Shoulders, and two Piſtols at my Girdle, and my great Sword by my Side, without a Scabbard, and with all the Speed I was able to make, I went away to the Hill, where I had diſcover'd

cover'd the first Appearance of all; and as soon as I got thither, which was not less than two Hours, (for I could not go apace, being so loaden with Arms as I was) I perceiv'd there had been three *Canoes* more of Savages on that Place; and looking out further, I saw they were all at Sea together, making over for the Main.

This was a dreadful Sight to me, especially when going down to the Shore, I could see the Marks of Horror which the dismal Work they had been about had left behind it, *viz.* The Blood, the Bones, and Part of the Flesh of humane Bodies, eaten and devour'd by those Wretches, with Merriment and Sport: I was so fill'd with Indignation at the Sight, that I began now to premeditate the Destruction of the next that I saw there, let them be who or how many soever.

It seem'd evident to me, that the Visits which they thus make to this Island, are not very frequent; for it was above fifteen Months before any more of them came on Shore there again; that is to say, I neither saw them, or any Footsteps, or Signals of them, in all that Time; for as to the rainy Seasons, then they are sure not to come abroad, at least not so far; yet all this while I liv'd uncomfortably, by reason of the constant Apprehensions I was in of their coming upon me by Surprize; from whence I observe, that the Expectation of Evil is more bitter than the Suffering, especially if there is no Room to shake off that Expectation, or those Apprehensions.

During all this Time, I was in the murdering Humour; and took up most of my Hours, which should have been better employ'd in contriving how to circumvent and fall upon them the very next Time I should see them; especially, if they should be divided, as they were the last Time, in-

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to two Parties; nor did I consider at all, that if I kill'd one Party, suppose Ten or a Dozen, I was still the next Day, or Week, or Month, to kill another, and so another, even *ad infinitum*, till I should be at length no less a Murderer than they were in being Man-eaters, and perhaps much more so.

I spent my Days now in great Perplexity and Anxiety of Mind, expecting that I should one Day or other fall into the Hands of these merciless Creatures; and if I did at any Time venture abroad, it was not without looking round me with the greatest Care and Caution imaginable; and now I found to my great Comfort, how happy it was that I provided for a tame Flock or Herd of Goats; for I durst not, upon any Account, fire my Gun, especially near that Side of the Island where they usually came, lest I should alarm the Savages; and if they had fled from me now, I was sure to have them come back again, with perhaps two or three hundred *Canoes* with them in a few Days, and then I knew what to expect.

However, I wore out a Year and three Months more, before I ever saw any more of the Savages, and then I found them again, as I shall soon observe. It is true, they might have been there once or twice; but either they made no Stay, or at least, I did not hear them; but in the Month of *May*, as near as I could calculate, and in my four and twentieth Year, I had a very strange Encounter with them, of which in its Place.

The Perturbation of my Mind, during this fifteen or sixteen Months Interval, was very great; I slept unquiet, dreamt always frightful Dreams, and often started out of my Sleep in the Night: In the Day great Troubles overwhelm'd my Mind, and in the Night I dreamt often of killing the Savages,

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Savages, and of the Reasons why I might justify the doing of it: But to wave all this for a while, it was on the Middle of *May*, on the sixteenth Day I think, as well as my poor wooden Calendar would reckon; for I mark'd all upon the Post still; I say, it was on the sixteenth of *May*, that it blew a very great Storm of Wind, all Day, with a great deal of Lightning and Thunder, and a very foul Night it was after it: I know not what was the particular Occasion of it; but as I was reading in the Bible, and taken up with very serious Thoughts about my present Condition, I was surpriz'd with a Noise of a Gun, as I thought, fir'd at Sea.

This was to be sure a Surprize of a quite different Nature from any I had met with before; for the Notions this put into my Thoughts were quite of another kind. I started up in the greatest Haste imaginable, and in a trice clapt my Ladder to the middle Place of the Rock, and pull'd it after me, and mounting it the second Time, got to the Top of the Hill, the very Moment that a Flash of Fire bid me listen for a second Gun, which accordingly, in about half a Minute, I heard, and by the Sound knew that it was from that Part of the Sea where I was driven down the Current in my Boat.

I immediately consider'd that this must be some Ship in Distress, and that they had some Comrade, or some other Ship in Company, and fir'd these Guns for Signals of Distress, and to obtain Help: I had this Presence of Mind at that Minute, as to think that though I could not help them, it may be they might help me; so I brought together all the dry Wood I could get at hand, and making a good handsome Pile, I set it on Fire upon the Hill; the Wood was dry, and blaz'd freely; and though the Wind blew very hard, yet it burnt fairly out; that I was certain, if there was any such Thing as a

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Ship, they must needs see it, and no doubt they did; for as soon as ever my Fire blaz'd up, I heard another Gun, and after that several others, all from the same Quarter. I ply'd my Fire all Night long, till Day broke; and when it was broad Day, and the Air clear'd up, I saw something at a great Distance at Sea, full *East* of the Island, whether a Sail, or a Hull, I could not distinguish, no not with my Glasses, the Distance was so great, and the Weather still something hazy also; at least it was so out at Sea.

I look'd frequently at it all that Day, and soon perceiv'd that it did not move; so I presently concluded that it was a Ship at an Anchor; and being eager, you may be sure, to be satisfy'd, I took my Gun in my Hand, and run toward the *South-East* Side of the Island, to the Rocks where I had formerly been carry'd away with the Current, and getting up there, the Weather by this Time being perfectly clear, I could plainly see, to my great Sorrow, the Wreck of a Ship cast away in the Night, upon those concealed Rocks which I found when I was out in my Boat; and which Rocks, as they check'd the Violence of the Stream, and made a kind of Counter-Stream or Eddy, were the Occasion of my recovering from the most desperate hopeless Condition that ever I had been in in all my Life.

Thus, what is one Man's Safety, is another Man's Destruction; for it seems these Men, whoever they were, being out of their Knowledge, and the Rocks being wholly under Water, had been driven upon them in the Night, the Wind blowing hard at *E.* and *E.N.E.* Had they seen the Island, as I must necessarily suppose they did not, they must, as I thought, have endeavour'd to have sav'd themselves on Shore by the Help of their Boat; but their firing of Guns for Help, especially when they saw, as I

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imagin'd, my Fire, fill'd me with many Thoughts: First I imagin'd, that upon seeing my Light, they might have put themselves into their Boat, and have endeavour'd to make the Shore; but that the Sea going very high, they might have been cast away; other times I imagin'd, that they might have lost their Boat before, as might be the Case many ways; as particularly, by the Breaking of the Sea upon their Ship, which many times obliges Men to stave, or take in Pieces their Boat; and sometimes to throw it over Board with their own Hands: Other times I imagin'd, they had some other Ship or Ships in Company, who, upon the Signals of Distress they had made, had taken them up, and carry'd them off: Other whiles I fancy'd, they were all gone off to Sea in their Boat, and being hurry'd away by the Current that I had been formerly in, were carry'd out into the great Ocean, where there was nothing but Misery and Perishing; and that perhaps they might by this Time think of Starving, and of being in a Condition to eat one another.

As all these were but Conjectures at best, so in the Condition I was in, I could do no more than look on upon the Misery of the poor Men, and pity them, which had still this good Effect on my Side, that it gave me more and more Cause to give Thanks to God, who had so happily and comfortably provided for me in my desolate Condition; and that of two Ships Companies who were now cast away upon this Part of the World, not one Life should be spar'd but mine: I learn'd here again to observe, that it is very rare that the Providence of God casts us into any Condition of Life so low, or any Misery so great, but we may see something or other to be thankful for; and may see others in worse Circumstances than our own.

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Such certainly was the Case of these Men, of whom I could not so much as see Room to suppose any of them were sav'd; nothing could make it rational, so much as to wish or expect that they did not all perish there, except the Possibility only of their being taken up by another Ship in Company; and this was but mere Possibility indeed; for I saw not the least Signal or Appearance of any such Thing.

I cannot explain, by any possible Energy of Words, what a strange Longing or Hankering of Desires I felt in my Soul upon this Sight; breaking out sometimes thus; O that there had been but one or two; nay, or but one Soul sav'd out of this Ship, to have escap'd to me, that I might but have had one Companion, one Fellow-Creature to have spoken to me, and to have convers'd with! In all the Time of my solitary Life, I never felt so earnest, so strong a Desire after the Society of my Fellow-Creatures, or so deep a Regret at the Want of it.

There are some secret moving Springs in the Affections, which when they are set a going by some Object in View, or be it some Object, though not in View, yet render'd present to the Mind by the Power of Imagination, that Motion carries out the Soul by its Impetuosity to such violent eager Embracings of the Object, that the Absence of it is insupportable.

Such were these earnest Wishings, That but one Man had been sav'd! *O that it had been but One!* I believe I repeated the Words, *O that it had been but One!* a thousand Times; and the Desires were so mov'd by it, that when I spoke the Words, my Hands would clinch together, and my Fingers press the Palms of my Hands, that if I had had any soft Thing in my Hand, it would have crush'd it involuntarily; and my Teeth in my Head would strike together,

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together, and set against one another so strong, that for some Time I could not part them again.

Let the Naturalists explain these Things, and the Reason and Manner of them; all I can say to them is, to describe the Fact, which was even surprising to me when I found it; tho' I knew not from what it should proceed, it was doubtless the Effect of ardent Wishes, and of strong Ideas form'd in my Mind, realizing the Comfort which the Conversation of one of my Fellow-Christians would have been to me.

But it was not to be; either their Fate, or mine, or both, forbid it; for till the last Year of my being on this Island, I never knew whether any were sav'd out of that Ship or no; and had only the Affliction some Days after, to see the Corps of a drown'd Boy come on Shore, at the End of the Island, which was next the Shipwreck: He had on no Cloaths, but a Seaman's Waistcoat, a Pair of open-knee'd Linnen Drawers, and a blew Linnen Shirt; but nothing to direct me so much as to guess what Nation he was of: He had nothing in his Pocket but two Pieces of Eight and a Tobacco-Pipe; the last was to me of ten times more Value than the first.

It was now calm, and I had a great Mind to venture out in my Boat to this Wreck; not doubting but I might find something on Board, that might be useful to me; but that did not altogether press me so much, as the Possibility that there might be yet some living Creature on board, whose Life I might not only save, but might, by saving that Life, comfort my own to the last Degree; and this Thought clung so to my Heart, that I could not be quiet, Night nor Day, but I must venture out in my Boat on board this Wreck; and committing the rest to God's Providence, I thought the

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the Impreſſion was ſo ſtrong upon my Mind, that it could not be reſiſted, that it muſt come from ſome inviſible Direction, and that I ſhould be wanting to myſelf, if I did not go.

Under the Power of this Impreſſion, I haſten'd back to my Caſtle, prepar'd every Thing for my Voyage, took a Quantity of Bread, a great Pot for freſh Water, a Compaſs to ſteer by, a Bottle of Rum; for I had ſtill a great deal of that left; a Basket full of Raiſins: And thus loading myſelf, with every Thing neceſſary, I went down to my Boat, got the Water out of her, and got her afloat, loaded all my Cargo in her, and then went Home again for more; my ſecond Cargo was a great Bag full of Rice, the Umbrella to ſet up over my Head for Shade, another large Pot full of freſh Water, and about two Dozen of my ſmall Loaves, or Barley Cakes, more than before, with a Bottle of Goat's Milk, and a Cheeſe; all which, with great Labour and Sweat, I brought to my Boat; and praying to God to direct my Voyage, I put out, and rowing or paddling the Canoe along the Shore, I came at laſt to the utmoſt Point of the Iſland on that Side, (*viz.*) *N. E.* And now I was to launch out into the Ocean, and either to venture, or not to venture. I look'd on the rapid Currents which ran conſtantly on both Sides of the Iſland, at a Diſtance, and which were very terrible to me, from the Remembrance of the Hazard I had been in before, and my Heart began to fail me; for I foreſaw that if I was driven into either of thoſe Currents, I ſhould be carry'd a vaſt Way out to Sea, and perhaps out of my Reach, or Sight of the Iſland again; and that then, as my Boat was but ſmall, if any little Gale of Wind ſhould riſe, I ſhould be inevitably loſt.

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These Thoughts so oppress'd my Mind, that I began to give over my Enterprize, and having hal'd my Boat into a little Creek on the Shore, I kept out, and sate me down upon a little rising Bit of Ground, very pensive and anxious, between Fear and Desire about my Voyage; when, as I was musing, I could perceive that the Tide was turn'd and the Flood came on, upon which my going was for so many Hours impracticable. Upon this presently it occur'd to me, that I should go up to the highest Piece of Ground I could find, and observe, if I could, how the Sets of the Tide or Currents lay, when the Flood came in, that I might judge whether, if I was driven one Way out, I might not expect to be driven another Way Home, with the same Rapidness of the Currents: This Thought was no sooner in my Head, but I cast my Eye upon a little Hill, which sufficiently overlook'd the Sea both Ways, and from whence I had a clear View of the Currents, or Sets of the Tide, and which Way I was to guide my self in my Return; here I found, that as the Current of the Ebb set out close by the South Point of the Island, so the Current of the Flood set in close by the Shore of the North Side, and that I had nothing to do but to keep to the North of the Island in my Return, and I should do well enough.

Encourag'd with this Observation, I resolv'd the next Morning to set out with the first of the Tide; and reposing my self for the Night in the Canoe, under the great Watch-coat I mention'd, I launch'd out; I made first a little out to Sea full North, till I began to feel the Benefit of the Current, which set Eastward, and which carry'd me at a great Rate, and yet did not so hurry me as the Southern Side Current had done before, and so as to take from me all Government of the Boat; but having a

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strong Steerage with my Paddle, I went at a great Rate, directly for the Wreck, and in less than two Hours I came up to it.

It was a dismal Sight to look at: The Ship, which by its Building was *Spanish*, stuck fast, jaum'd in between two Rocks; all the Stern and Quarter of her was beaten to Pieces with the Sea; and as her Forecastle, which stuck in the Rocks, had run on with great Violence, her Mainmast and Foremast were brought by the Board; that is to say, broken short off; but her Boltsprit was sound, and the Head and Bow appear'd firm; when I came close to her, a Dog appear'd upon her, who seeing me coming, yelp'd and cry'd, and as soon as I call'd him, jump'd into the Sea, to come to me, and I took him into the Boat, but found him almost dead for Hunger and Thirst: I gave him a Cake of my Bread, and he eat it like a ravenous Wolf, that had been starving a Fortnight in the Snow: I then gave the poor Creature some fresh Water, with which, if I would have let him, he would have burst himself.

After this I went on Board; but the first Sight I met with, was two Men drown'd in the Cook-Room, or Forecastle of the Ship, with their Arms fast about one another: I concluded, as is indeed probable, that when the Ship struck, it being in a Storm, the Sea broke so high, and so continually over her, that the Men were not able to bear it, and were strangled with the constant rushing in of the Water, as much as if they had been under Water. Besides the Dog, there was nothing left in the Ship that had Life, nor any Goods that I could see, but what were spoil'd by the Water. There were some Casks of Liquor, whether Wine or Brandy, I knew not, which lay lower in the Hold; and which, the Water being ebb'd out, I could

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could see; but they were too big to meddle with. I saw several Chests, which I believ'd belong'd to some of the Seamen, and I got two of them into the Boat, without examining what was in them.

Had the Stern of the Ship been fix'd, and the Forepart broken off, I am perswaded I might have made a good Voyage; for by what I found in these two Chests, I had Room to suppose the Ship had a great deal of Wealth on Board; and if I may guess by the Course she steer'd, she must have been bound from the *Buenos Ayres*, or the *Rio de la Plata*, in the South Part of *America*, beyond the *Brasils*, to the *Havana*, in the Gulph of *Mexico*, and so perhaps to *Spain*: She had, no Doubt, a great Treasure in her, but of no Use at that Time to any Body; and what became of the rest of her People, I then knew not.

I found, besides these Chests, a little Cask full of Liquor, of about twenty Gallons, which I got into my Boat, with much Difficulty; there were several Muskets in a Cabin, and a great Powder-horn, with about four Pounds of Powder in it; as for the Muskets, I had no Occasion for them, so I left them, but took the Powder-horn: I took a Fire-shovel and Tongs, which I wanted extremely; as also two little Brass-Kettles, a Copper Pot to make Chocolate, and a Gridiron; and with this Cargo, and the Dog, I came away, the Tide beginning to make Home again; and the same Evening, about an Hour within Night, I reach'd the Island again, weary and fatigu'd to the last Degree.

I repos'd that Night in the Boat, and in the Morning I resolv'd to harbour what I had gotten in my new Cave, not to carry it Home to my Castle. After refreshing myself, I got all my Cargo on Shore, and began to examine the Particulars: The Cask of Liquor I found to be a kind of Rum, but not such

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as we had at the *Brasils*; and in a Word, not at all good; but when I came to open the Chests, I found several Things of great Use to me: For Example, I found in one a fine Case of Bottles, of an extraordinary Kind, and fill'd with Cordial Waters, fine, and very good; the Bottles held about three Pints each, and were tip'd with Silver: I found two Pots of very good Succades, or Sweetmeats, so fasten'd also on Top, that the Salt Water had not hurt them; and two more of the same, which the Water had spoil'd: I found some very good Shirts, which were very welcome to me, and about a dozen and a half of Linnen white Handkerchiefs, and colour'd Neckcloths; the former were also very welcome, being exceeding refreshing to wipe my Face in a hot Day; besides this, when I came to the Till in the Chests, I found there three great Bags of Pieces of Eight, which held about eleven hundred Pieces in all; and in one of them, wrapt up in a Paper, six Doubloons of Gold, and some small Bars or Wedges of Gold; I suppose they might all weigh near a Pound.

The other Chest I found had some Cloaths in it, but of little Value; but by the Circumstances it must have belong'd to the Gunner's Mate, though there was no Powder in it, but about two Pounds of fine glaz'd Powder, in three small Flasks, kept, I suppose, for charging their Fowling-pieces on Occasion: Upon the whole, I got very little by this Voyage, that was of any Use to me; for as to the Money, I had no Manner of Occasion for it; 'twas to me as the Dirt under my Feet; and I would have given it all for three or four Pair of *English* Shoes and Stockings, which were Things I greatly wanted, but had not had on my Feet now for many Years: I had, indeed, gotten two Pair of Shoes now, which I took off of the Feet of the

two

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two drown'd Men, who I saw in the Wreck; and I found two Pair more in one of the Chests, which were very welcome to me; but they were not like our *English* Shoes, either for Ease or Service, being rather what we call Pumps than Shoes: I found in this Seaman's Chest about fifty Pieces of Eight in Royals, but no Gold; I suppose this belong'd to a poorer Man than the other, which seem'd to belong to some Officer.

Well, however, I lugged this Money home to my Cave, and laid it up, as I had done that before, which I brought from our own Ship; but it was great Pity, as I said, that the other Part of this Ship had not come to my Share, for I am satisfy'd I might have loaded my *Canoe* several Times over with Money, which, if I had ever escap'd to *England*, would have lain here safe enough till I might have come again and fetch'd it.

Having now brought all my Things on Shore, and secur'd them, I went back to my Boat, and row'd or paddled her along the Shore to her old Harbour, where I laid her up, and made the best of my Way to my old Habitation, where I found every Thing safe and quiet; so I began to repose myself, live after my old Fashion, and take Care of my Family Affairs; and for a while, I liv'd easy enough; only that I was more vigilant than I us'd to be, look'd out oftner, and did not go abroad so much; and if at any Time I did stir with any Freedom, it was always to the East Part of the Island, where I was pretty well satisfy'd the Savages never came, and where I could go without so many Precautions, and such a Load of Arms and Ammunition, as I always carry'd with me if I went the other Way.

I liv'd in this Condition near two Years more; but my unlucky Head, that was always to let me

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know it was born to make my Body miserable, was all the two Years fill'd with Projects and Designs how, if it were possible, I might get away from this Island; for sometimes I was for making another Voyage to the Wreck, tho' my Reason told me that there was nothing left there worth the Hazard of my Voyage: Sometimes for a Ramble one Way, sometimes another; and I believe verily, if I had had the Boat that I went from *Sallee* in, I should have ventur'd to Sea, bound any where, I knew not whither.

I have been, in all my Circumstances, a *Memento* to those who are touch'd with the general Plague of Mankind, whence, for ought I know, one Half of their Miseries flow; I mean, that of not being satisfy'd with the Station wherein God and Nature hath plac'd them; for not to look back upon my primitive Condition, and the excellent Advice of my Father, the Oppositon to which was, *as I may call it*, my ORIGINAL SIN, my subsequent Mistakes of the same Kind had been the Means of my coming into this miserable Condition; for had that Providence, which so happily had seated me at the *Brasils*, as a Planter, bless'd me with confin'd Desires, and I could have been contented to have gone on gradually, I might have been by this Time, *I mean, in the Time of my being in this Island*, one of the most considerable Planters in the *Brasils*; nay, I am perswaded, that by the Improvements I had made in that little Time I liv'd there, and the Encrease I should probably have made, if I had stay'd, I might have been worth an hundred thousand *Moyadores*; and what Business had I to leave a settled Fortune, a well-stock'd Plantation, improving and encreasing, to turn *Supra Cargo* to *Guinea*, to fetch Negroes, when Patience and Time would have so encreas'd our Stock at Home,

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Home, that we could have bought them at our own Door, from those whose Business it was to fetch them? and though it had cost us something more, yet the Difference of that Price was by no Means worth saving at so great a Hazard.

But as this is ordinarily the Fate of young Heads, so Reflection upon the Folly of it is as ordinarily the Exercise of more Years, or of the dear-bought Experience of Time; and so it was with me now; and yet so deep had the Mistake taken Root in my Temper, that I could not satisfy myself in my Station, but was continually poring upon the Means and Possibility of my Escape from this Place; and that I may with the greater Pleasure to the Reader bring on the remaining Part of my Story, it may not be improper to give some Account of my first Conceptions on the Subject of this foolish Scheme for my Escape; and how, and upon what Foundation I acted.

I am now to be suppos'd retir'd into my Castle, after my late Voyage to the Wreck, my Frigate laid up, and secur'd under Water, as usual, and my Condition restor'd to what it was before: I had more Wealth, indeed, than I had before, but was not at all the richer; for I had no more Use for it, than the *Indians* of *Peru* had before the *Spaniards* came there.

It was one of the Nights, in the rainy Season in *March*, the four and twentieth Year of my first setting Foot in this Island of Solitariness, I was lying in my Bed, or Hammock, awake, very well in Health, had no Pain, no Distemper, no Uneasiness of Body, no, nor any Uneasiness of Mind, more than ordinary; but could by no Means close my Eyes; that is, so as to sleep; no, not a Wink all Night long, otherwise than as follows:

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It is as impossible as needless, to set down the innumerable Crowd of Thoughts that whirl'd through that great Thoroughfair of the Brain, the Memory, in this Night's Time: I run over the whole History of my Life in Miniature, or by Abridgment, as I may call it, to my coming to this Island; and also of the Part of my Life since I came to this Island. In my Reflections upon the State of my Case, since I came on Shore on this Island, I was comparing the happy Posture of my Affairs, in the first Years of my Habitation here, compar'd to the Life of Anxiety, Fear, and Care, which I had liv'd in ever since I had seen the Print of a Foot in the Sand; not that I did not believe the Savages had frequented the Island even all the while, and might have been several Hundreds of them at Times on Shore there; but I had never known it, and was incapable of any Apprehensions about it; my Satisfaction was perfect, tho' my Danger was the same; and I was as happy in not knowing my Danger, as if I had never really been expos'd to it. This furnish'd my Thoughts with many very profitable Reflections, and particularly this one, How infinitely Good that Providence is, which has provided in its Government of Mankind such narrow Bounds to his Sight and Knowledge of Things; and tho' he walks in the midst of so many thousand Dangers, the Sight of which, if discover'd to him, would distract his Mind, and sink his Spirits, he is kept serene and calm, by having the Events of Things hid from his Eyes, and knowing nothing of the Dangers which surround him.

After these Thoughts had for some Time entertain'd me, I came to reflect seriously upon the real Danger I had been in for so many Years in this very Island; and how I had walk'd about in the greatest Security, and with all possible Tranquility;

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ry; even when perhaps nothing but a Brow of a Hill, a great Tree, or the casual Approach of Night, had been between me and the worst Kind of Destruction, viz. That of falling into the Hands of Canibals and Savages, who would have seiz'd on me with the same View as I did of a Goat or a Turtle, and have thought it no more a Crime to kill and devour me, than I did of a Pidgeon or a Curlieu: I should unjustly slander myself, if I should say I was not sincerely thankful to my great Preserver, to whose singular Protection I acknowledg'd, with great Humility, that all these unknown Deliverances were due; and without which I must inevitably fallen into their mercilefs Hands.

When these Thoughts were over, my Head was for some time taken up in considering the Nature of these wretched Creatures, I mean, the Savages; and how it came to pass in the World, that the wise Governour of all Things should give up any of his Creatures to such Inhumanity; nay, to something so much below even Brutality itself, as to devour its own Kind; but as this ended in some (at that Time fruitless) Speculations, it occur'd to me to enquire, what Part of the World these Wretches liv'd in; how far off the Coast was from whence they came; what they ventur'd over so far from Home for; what Kind of Boats they had; and why I might not order myself, and my Business so, that I might be as able to go over thither, as they were to come to me.

I never so much as troubled myself to consider what I should do with myself when I came thither; what would become of me, if I fell into the Hands of the Savages; or how I should escape from them, if they attempted me; no, nor so much as how it was possible for me to reach the Coast, and not

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not be attempted by some or other of them, without any Possibility of delivering myself; and if I should not fall into their Hands, what I should do for Provision, or whither I should bend my Course; none of these Thoughts, I say, so much as came in my Way; but my Mind was wholly bent upon the Notion of my passing over in my Boat to the main Land: I look'd back upon my present Condition, as the most miserable that could possibly be; that I was not able to throw myself into any thing but Death that could be call'd worse; that if I reach'd the Shore of the Main, I might perhaps meet with Relief, or I might coast along, as I did on the Shore of *Africk*, 'till I came to some inhabited Country, and where I might find some Relief; and after all, perhaps I might fall in with some Christian Ship that might take me in; and if the worst came to the worst, I could but die, which would put an End to all these Miseries at once. Pray note, All this was the Fruit of a disturb'd Mind, an impatient Temper, made as it were desperate by the long Continuance of my Troubles, and the Disappointments I had met in the Wreck I had been on board of, and when I had been so near the obtaining what I so earnestly long'd for, *viz.* some Body to speak to, and to learn some Knowledge from of the Place where I was, and of the probable Means of my Deliverance; I say, I was agitated wholly by these Thoughts. All my Calm of Mind in my Resignation to Providence, and waiting the Issue of the Dispositions of Heaven, seem'd to be suspended; and I had, as it were, no Power to turn my Thoughts to any Thing, but to the Project of a Voyage to the Main, which came upon me with such Force, and such an Impetuosity of Desire, that it was not to be resisted.

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When this had agitated my Thoughts for two Hours, or more, with such Violence, that it set my very Blood into a Ferment, and my Pulse beat as high as if I had been in a Fever, merely with the extraordinary Fervour of my Mind about it; Nature, as if I had been fatigued and exhausted with the very Thought of it, threw me into a sound Sleep: One would have thought, I should have dreamt of it; but I did not, nor of any Thing relating to it; but I dreamt, that as I was going out in the Morning, as usual, from my Castle, I saw upon the Shore two *Canoes*, and eleven Savages coming to Land, and that they brought with them another Savage, who they were going to kill, in order to eat him; when, on a sudden, the Savage, that they were going to kill, jump'd away, and ran for his Life; and I thought in my Sleep, that he came running into my little thick Grove, before my Fortification, to hide himself; and that I seeing him alone, and not perceiving that the other sought him that Way, shew'd myself to him, and, smiling upon him, encourag'd him; that he kneel'd down to me, seeming to pray me to assist him; upon which I shew'd my Ladder, made him go up, and carry'd him into my Cave, and he became my Servant; and that as soon as I had gotten this Man, I said to myself, now I may certainly venture to the Main Land; for this Fellow will serve me as a Pilot, and will tell me what to do, and whither to go for Provisions; and whither not to go for fear of being devour'd, what Places to venture into, and what to escape: I wak'd with this Thought, and was under such inexpressible Impressions of Joy at the Prospect of my Escape in my Dream, that the Disappointments which I felt upon coming to myself, and finding it was no more than a Dream, were equally extravagant the other

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other Way, and threw me into a very great Dejection of Spirit.

Upon this, however, I made this Conclusion, That my only Way to go about an Attempt for an Escape, was, if possible, to get a Savage into my Possession; and if possible, it should be one of their Prisoners, whom they had condemn'd to be eaten, and should bring thither to kill; but these Thoughts still were attended with this Difficulty, that it was impossible to effect this, without attacking a whole Caravan of them, and killing them all; and this was not only a very desperate Attempt, and might miscarry; but, on the other hand, I had greatly scrupled the Lawfulness of it to me, and my Heart trembled at the Thoughts of shedding so much Blood, tho' it was for my Deliverance. I need not repeat the Arguments which occur'd to me against this, they being the same mention'd before: But tho' I had other Reasons to offer now, (*viz.*) that those Men were Enemies to my Life, and would devour me, if they could; that it was Self-preservation in the highest Degree, to deliver myself from this Death of a Life, and was acting in my own Defence, as much as if they were actually assaulting me, and the like: I say, tho' these Things argued for it, yet the Thoughts of shedding humane Blood for my Deliverance, were very terrible to me, and such as I could by no Means reconcile myself to a great while.

However, at last, after many secret Disputes with myself, and after great Perplexities about it, for all these Arguments, one Way and another, struggled in my Head a long Time, the eager prevailing Desire of Deliverance at length master'd all the rest, and I resolv'd, if possible, to get one of those Savages into my Hands, cost what it would.

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would. My next Thing then was to contrive how to do it, and this indeed was very difficult to resolve on. But as I could pitch upon no probable Means for it, so I resolv'd to put my self upon the Watch, to see them when they came on Shore, and leave the rest to the Event, taking such Measures as the Opportunity should present, let be what would be.

With these Resolutions in my Thoughts, I set my self upon the Scout, as often as possible, and indeed so often till I was heartily tir'd of it; for it was above a Year and a half that I waited, and for great part of that Time went out to the West End, and to the South West Corner of the Island, almost every Day, to see for Canoes, but none appear'd. This was very discouraging, and began to trouble me much; though I can't say that it did in this Case, as it had done some Time before that, (*viz.*) wear off the Edge of my Desire to the Thing. But the longer it seem'd to be delay'd, the more eager I was for it; in a word, I was not at first so careful to shun the Sight of these Savages, and avoid being seen by them, as I was now eager to be upon them.

Besides, I fancy'd my self able to manage one, nay, two or three Savages, if I had them, so as to make them entirely Slaves to me, to do whatever I should direct them, and to prevent their being able at any Time to do me any Hurt. It was a great while that I pleas'd my self with this Affair, but nothing still presented; all my Fancies and Schemes came to nothing, for no Savages came near me for a great while.

About a Year and half after I had entertain'd these Notions, and, by long musing, had as it were resolv'd them all into nothing, for want of an Occasion to put them in Execution, I was surpriz'd one

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one Morning early, with seeing no less than five *Canoes* all on Shore together on my Side the Island; and the People who belong'd to them all landed, and out of my Sight. The Number of them broke all my Measures; for seeing so many, and knowing that they always came four or six, or sometimes more, in a Boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my Measures, to attack twenty or thirty Men single handed; so I lay still in my Castle, perplex'd and discomforted: However I put my self into all the same Postures for an Attack, that I had formerly provided, and was just ready for Action, if any Thing had presented. Having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any Noise; at length, being very impatient I set my Guns at the Foot of my Ladder, and clamber'd up to the Top of the Hill, by my two Stages, as usual; standing so, however, that my Head did not appear above the Hill so that they could not perceive me by any Means. Here I observ'd, by the Help of my Perspective Glass, that they were no less than thirty in Number, that they had a Fire kindled, that they had had Meat dress'd; how they had cook'd it, that I knew not, or what it was; but they were all dancing in I know not how many barbarous Gestures and Figures, their own Way, round the Fire.

While I was thus looking on them, I perceived by my Perspective two miserable Wretches drag'd from the Boats, where it seems they were laid by, and were now brought out for the Slaughter. I perceiv'd one of them immediately fell, being knock'd down, I suppose with a Club or Wooden Sword, for that was their Way, and two or three others were at Work, immediately cutting him open for their Cookery, while the other Victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him.

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him. In that very Moment this poor Wretch seeing himself a little at Liberty, Nature inspir'd him with Hopes of Life, and he started away from them, and ran with incredible Swiftness along the Sands directly towards me, I mean, towards that part of the Coast where my Habitation was.

I was dreadfully frighted (that I must acknowledge) when I perceiv'd him to run my Way; and especially, when as I thought I saw him pursued by the whole Body; and now I expected that Part of my Dream was coming to pass, and that he would certainly take Shelter in my Grove; but I could not depend by any means upon my Dream for the rest of it, (*viz.*) that the other Savages would not pursue him thither, and find him there. However I kept my Station, and my Spirits began to recover, when I found that there was not above three Men that follow'd him; and still more was I encourag'd, when I found that he outstript them exceedingly in running, and gain'd Ground of them, so that if he could but hold it for half an Hour, I saw easily he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them and my Castle the Creek which I mention'd often at the first Part of my Story, when I landed my Cargoes out of the Ship; and this, I saw plainly, he must necessarily swim over, or the poor Wretch would be taken there: But when the Savage escaping came thither, he made nothing of it, though the Tide was then up, but plunging in, swam thro' in about thirty Stokes, or thereabouts, landed, and ran on with exceeding Strength and Swiftness; when the three Persons came to the Creek, I found that two of them could swim, but the third could not, and that standing on the other Side, he look'd at the other, but went no farther; and soon after went softly.

softly back again, which, as it happen'd, was very well for him in the main.

I obſerv'd, that the two who ſwam, were yet more than twice as long ſwimming over the Creek, as the Fellow was that fled from them: It came now very warmly upon my Thoughts, and indeed irreſiſtibly, that now was my Time to get me a Servant, and perhaps a Companion, or Aſſiſtant: and that I was call'd plainly by Providence to ſave this poor Creature's Life; I immediately run down the Ladders with all poſſible Expedition, fetch'd my two Guns, for they were both but at the Foot of the Ladders, as I obſerv'd above; and getting up again, with the ſame Haſte, to the Top of the Hill, I croſs'd toward the Sea; and having a very ſhort Cut, and all down Hill, clap'd myſelf in the way, between the Purſuers, and the purſu'd; hollowing aloud to him that fled, who looking back, was at firſt perhaps as much frighted at me as at them; but I beckon'd with my Hand to him, to come back, and in the mean Time, I ſlowly advanc'd towards the two that follow'd; then ruſhing at once upon the foremoſt, I knock'd him down with the Stock of my Piece; I was loth to fire, becauſe I would not have the reſt hear; though at ſuch Diſtance it would not have been eaſily heard, and being out of Sight of the Smoak too, they wou'd not have eaſily known what to make of it. Having knock'd this Fellow down, the other who purſu'd him ſtopt, as if he had been frighted; and I advanc'd apace towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceiv'd preſently, he had a Bow and Arrow, and was fitting it to ſhoot at me; ſo I was then neceſſitated to ſhoot at him firſt, which I did, and kill'd him at the firſt Shoot; the poor Savage who fled, but had ſtop'd, though he ſaw both his Enemies fallen, and kill'd, as he thought; yet

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was so frighted with the Fire, and Noise of my Piece, that he stood stock still, and neither came forward, or went backward, tho' he seem'd rather inclin'd to fly still, than to come on; I hollow'd again to him, and made Signs to come forward, which he easily understood, and came a little Way, then stop'd again; and then a little farther, and stop'd again; and I could then perceive that he stood trembling, as if he had been taken Prisoner, and had just been to be kill'd, as his two Enemies were. I beckon'd him again to come to me, and gave him all the Signs of Encouragement that I could think of, and he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve Steps, in Token of Acknowledgment for my saving his Life: I smil'd at him, and look'd pleasantly, and beckon'd to him to come still nearer; at length he came close to me, and then he kneel'd down again, kiss'd the Ground, and laid his Head upon the Ground, and taking me by the Foot, set my Foot upon his Head; this, it seems, was in Token of swearing to be my Slave for ever. I took him up, and made much of him, and encourag'd him all I could: But there was more Work to do yet, for I perceiv'd the Savage, whom I knock'd down, was not kill'd, but stun'd with the Blow, and began to come to himself; so I pointed to him, and showing him the Savage, that he was not dead; upon this he spoke some Words to me, and tho' I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear, for they were the first Sound of a Man's Voice that I had heard, *my own excepted*, for above twenty-five Years. But there was no Time for such Reflections now; the Savage, who was knock'd down, recover'd himself so far, as to sit up upon the Ground, and I perceiv'd that my Savage began to be afraid; but when I saw that, I presented my

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other Piece at the Man, as if I would ſhoot him; upon this my Savage, *for ſo I call him now*, made a Motion to me to lend him my Sword, which hung naked in a Belt by my Side; ſo I did: He no ſooner had it, but he runs to his Enemy, and at one Blow cut off his Head as cleverly, no Executioner in *Germany* could have done it ſooner or better; which I thought very ſtrange, for one, who I had reaſon to believe, never ſaw a Sword in his Life before, except their own wooden Swords; however, it ſeems, as I learn'd afterwards, they make their wooden Swords ſo ſharp, ſo heavy, and the Wood is ſo hard, that they will cut off Heads even with them, aye and Arms, and that at one Blow too: When he had done this, he comes laughing to me in Sign of Triumph, and brought me the Sword again, and with abundance of Geſtures, which I did not underſtand, laid it down with the Head of the Savage, that he had kill'd juſt before me.

But that which aſtoniſh'd him moſt, was to know how I had kill'd the other Indian ſo far off; ſo, pointing to him, he made Signs to me to let him go to him; ſo I bad him go, as well as I could; when he came to him, he ſtood like one amaz'd, looking at him, turn'd him firſt on one Side, then on t'other, look'd at the Wound the Bullet had made, which it ſeems was juſt in his Breaſt, where it had made a Hole, and no great Quantity of Blood had follow'd, but he had bled inwardly, for he was quite dead: He took up his Bow and Arrows, and came back, ſo I turn'd to go away, and beckon'd to him to follow me, making Signs to him, that more might come after them.

Upon this he ſigh'd to me, that he ſhould bury them with Sand, that they might not be ſeen by the reſt if they follow'd; and ſo I made Signs again to him to do ſo; he fell to work, and in an Inſtant he had

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had scrap'd a Hole in the Sand with his Hands, big enough to bury the first in, and then drag'd him into it, and cover'd him, and did so also by the other; I believe he had bury'd them both in a Quarter of an Hour; then calling him away, I carry'd him, not to my Castle, but quite away to my Cave, on the farther Part of the Island; so I did not let my Dream come to pass in that Part, *viz.* That he came into my Grove for Shelter.

Here I gave him Bread, and a Bunch of Raisins to eat, and a Draught of Water, which I found he was indeed in great Distress for, by his Running; and having refresh'd him, I made Signs for him to go lie down and sleep, pointing to a Place where I had laid a great Parcel of Rice Straw, and a Blanket upon it, which I used to sleep upon myself sometimes; so the poor Creature laid down and went to

He was a comely handsome Fellow, perfectly well made, with strait long Limbs, not too large, tall and well shap'd; and, as I reckon, about twenty-six Years of Age. He had a very good Countenance, not a fierce and surly Aspect, but seem'd to have something very Manly in his Face, and yet he had all the Sweetness and Softness of an *European* in his Countenance too, especially when he smil'd. His Hair was long and black, not curl'd like Wool; his Forehead very high, and large, and a great Vivacity and sparkling Sharpness in his Eyes. The Colour of his Skin was not quite black, but very tawny, and yet not of an ugly yellow nauseous Tawny, as the *Brasilians*, and *Virginians*, and other Natives of *America* are, but of a bright kind of a dun Olive Colour, that had in it something very agreeable, tho' not very easy to describe. His Face was round and plump, his Nose small, not flat like the Negroes, a very good Mouth, thin Lips, and his

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fine Teeth well ſet, and white as Ivory. After he had ſlumber'd, rather than ſlept, about half an Hour, he wak'd again, and comes out of the Cave to me, for I had been milking my Goats, which I had in the Encloſure juſt by: When he eſpy'd me, he came running to me, laying himſelf down again upon the Ground, with all the poſſible Signs of an humble thankful Diſpoſition, making a many antick Geſtures to ſhow it: At laſt he lays his Head flat upon the Ground, cloſe to my Foot, and ſets my other Foot upon his Head, as he had done before; and after this, made all the Signs to me of Subjection, Servitude, and Submiſſion imaginable, to let me know how he would ſerve me as long as he liv'd. I underſtood him in many Things, and let him know I was very well pleas'd with him; in a little Time I began to ſpeak to him, and teach him to ſpeak to me; and firſt, I made him know his Name ſhould be *Friday*, which was the Day I ſav'd his Life; I call'd him ſo for the Memory of the Time; I likewiſe taught him to ſay *Maſter*, and then let him know that was to be my Name; I likewiſe taught him to ſay *Yes* and *No*, and to know the Meaning of them; I gave him ſome Milk in an earthen Pot, and let him ſee me drink it before him, and ſop my Bread in it; and I gave him a Cake of Bread to do the like, which he quickly comply'd with, and made Signs that it was very good for him.

I kept there with him all that Night, but as ſoon as it was Day, I beckon'd to him to come with me, and let him know I would give him ſome Cloaths, at which he ſeem'd very glad, for he was ſtark-naked: As we went by the Place where he had bury'd the two Men, he pointed exactly to the Place, and ſhew'd me the Marks that he had made to find them again, making Signs to me that

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that we should dig them up again, and eat them; at this I appear'd very angry, express'd my Abhorrence of it, made as if I would vomit at the Thoughts of it, and beckon'd with my Hand to him to come away, which he did immediately, with great Submission. I then led him up to the Top of the Hill, to see if his Enemies were gone; and pulling out my Glass, I look'd, and saw plainly the Place where they had been, but no Appearance of them, or of their *Canoes*; so that it was plain that they were gone, and had left their two Comrades behind them, without any Search after them.

But I was not content with this Discovery, but having now more Courage, and consequently more Curiosity, I took my Man *Friday* with me, giving him the Sword in his Hand, with the Bow and Arrows at his Back, which I found he could use very dexterously, making him carry one Gun for me, and I two for myself, and away we march'd to the Place where these Creatures had been; for I had a Mind now to get some fuller Intelligence of them: When I came to the Place, my very Blood ran chill in my Veins, and my Heart sunk within me at the Horror of the Spectacle: Indeed it was a dreadful Sight, at least it was so to me, tho' *Friday* made nothing of it: The Place was cover'd with humane Bones, the Ground dy'd with their Blood, great Pieces of Flesh left here and there, half eaten, mangled and scorch'd; and, in short, all the Tokens of the triumphant Feast they had been making there, after a Victory over their Enemies. I saw three Skulls, five Hands, and the Bones of three or four Legs and Feet, and abundance of other Parts of the Bodies; and *Friday*, by his Signs, made me understand, that they brought over four Prisoners to feast upon; that three of them were eaten up,

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and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth: That there had been a great Battle between them, and their next King, whose Subjects it seems he had been one of; and that they had taken a great Number of Prisoners, all which were carry'd to several Places by those that had taken them in the Fight, in order to feast upon them, as was done here by these Wretches upon those they brought hither.

I caus'd *Friday* to gather all the Skulls, Bones, Flesh, and whatever remain'd, and lay them together on a Heap, and make a great Fire upon it, and burn them all to Ashes: I found *Friday* had still a hankering Stomach after some of the Flesh, and was still a Cannibal in his Nature; but I discover'd so much Abhorrence at the very Thoughts of it, and at the least Appearance of it, that he durst not discover it; for I had, by some Means, let him know, that I would kill him if he offer'd it.

When we had done this we came back to our Castle, and there I fell to work for my Man *Friday*, and first of all I gave him a Pair of Linen Drawers, which I had out of the poor Gunner's Chest I mention'd, and which I found in the Wreck; and which, with a little Alteration, fitted him very well; then I made him a Jerkin of Goat's-skin, as well as my Skill would allow; and I was now grown a tolerable good Taylor; and I gave him a Cap, which I had made of a Hare-skin, very convenient and fashionable enough; and thus he was cloath'd, for the present, tolerably well, and was mighty well pleas'd to see himself almost as well cloath'd as his Master: It is true, he went aukwardly in these Things at first; wearing the Drawers was very aukward to him, and the Sleeves of the Waistcoat gall'd his Shoulders, and the inside of his Arms; but a little easing them, where he complain'd they hurt him, and using

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using himself to them, at length he took to them very well.

The next Day after I came Home to my Hutch with him, I began to consider where I should lodge him; and that I might do well for him, and yet be perfectly easy myself, I made a little Tent for him in the vacant Place between my two Fortifications, in the Inside of the last, and in the Outside of the first: And as there was a Door or Entrance there into my Cave, I made a formal fram'd Door-case, and a Door to it of Boards, and set it up in the Passage, a little within the Entrance; and causing the Door to open on the Inside, I bar'd it up in the Night, taking in my Ladders too; so that *Friday* could no way come at me in the Inside of my innermost Wall, without making so much Noise in getting over, that it must needs waken me; for my first Wall had now a compleat Roof over it of long Poles, covering all my Tent, and leaning up to the Side of the Hill, which was again laid cross with smaller Sticks instead of Laths, and then thatch'd over a great Thickness with the Rice Straw, which was strong like Reeds; and at the Hole of Place which was left to go in or out by the Ladder, I had plac'd a kind of Trap-door, which, if it had been attempted on the Out-side, would not have open'd at all, but would have fallen down, and made a great Noise; and as to Weapons, I took them all in to my Side every Night.

But I needed none of all this Precaution; for never Man had a more faithful, loving, sincere Servant than *Friday* was to me; without Passions, Sullenness, or Designs, perfectly oblig'd and engag'd: his very Affections were ty'd to me, like those of a Child to a Father; and I dare say, he would have sacrificed his Life for the saving mine, upon any Occasion whatsoever; the many Testimo-

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nies he gave me of this, put it out of Doubt, and soon convinc'd me, that I needed to use no Precautions as to my Safety on his Account.

This frequently gave me Occasion to observe, and that with Wonder, that however it had pleas'd God in his Providence, and in the Government of the Works of his Hands, to take from so great a Part of the World of his Creatures, the best Uses to which their Faculties and the Powers of their Souls are adapted; yet that he has bestow'd upon them the same Powers, the same Reason, the same Affections, the same Sentiments of Kindness and Obligation, the same Passions and Resentments of Wrongs, the same Sense of Gratitude, Sincerity, Fidelity, and all the Capacities of doing Good, and receiving Good, that he has given to us; and that when he pleases to offer to them Occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay, more ready to apply them to the right Uses for which they were bestow'd, than we are. And this made me very melancholy sometimes, in reflecting, as the several Occasions presented, how mean a Use we make of all these, even though we have these Powers enlighten'd by the great Lamp of Instruction, the Spirit of God, and by the Knowledge of his Word, added to our Understanding; and why it has pleas'd God to hide the like saving Knowledge from so many Millions of Souls, who (if I might judge by this poor Savage) would make a much better Use of it than we did.

From hence I sometimes was led too far to invade the Sovereignty of Providence; and, as it were, arraign the Justice of so arbitrary a Disposition of Things, that should hide that Light from some, and reveal it to others, and yet expect a like Duty from both: But I shut it up and check'd my Thoughts with this Conclusion, *First*, That we did not

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not know by what Light and Law these should be condemn'd; but that, as God was necessarily, and, by the Nature of his Being, infinitely holy and just, so it could not be, but that if these Creatures were all sentenc'd to Absence from himself, it was on Account of sinning against that Light, which, as the Scripture says, was a Law to themselves, and by such Rules as their Consciences would acknowledge to be just, tho' the Foundation was not discover'd to us: And, *Secondly*, That still as we are all the Clay in the Hand of the Potter, no Vessel could say to him, Why hast thou form'd me thus?

But to return to my new Companion: I was greatly delighted with him, and made it my Business to teach him every Thing that was proper to make him useful, handy and helpful; but especially to make him speak, and understand me when I spake; and he was the apteſt Scholar that ever was, and particularly was so merry, so constantly diligent, and so pleas'd when he could but understand me, or make me understand him, that it was very pleasant to me to talk to him; and now my Life began to be so easy, that I began to say to myself, that could I but have been safe from more Savages, I cared not if I was never to remove from the Place while I liv'd.

After I had been two or three Days return'd to my Castle, I thought, that, in order to bring *Friday* off from his horrid Way of feeding, and from the Reliſh of a Canibal's Stomach, I ought to let him taste other Flesh; so I took him out with me one Morning to the Woods. I went indeed, intending to kill a Kid out of my own Flock, and bring it home and dress it: But as I was going, I saw a She Goat lying down in the Shade, and two young Kids sitting by her. I catch'd hold of *Friday*, Hold, says I, stand still; and made Signs to him

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not to ſtir, immediately I preſented my Piece, ſhot and kill'd one of the Kids. The poor Creature, who had at a Diſtance, indeed, ſeen me kill the Savage, his Enemy, but did not know, or could imagine, how it was done, was ſenſibly ſurpriſed, trembled and ſhook, and look'd ſo amaz'd, that I thought he would have ſunk down. He did not ſee the Kid I had ſhot at, or perceive I had kill'd it, but rip'd up his Waſtecoat to feel if he was not wounded; and, as I found, preſently thought I was reſolv'd to kill him; for he came and kneel'd down to me, and embracing my Knees, ſaid a great many Things I did not underſtand, but I could eaſily ſee that the Meaning was to pray me not to kill him.

I ſoon found a Way to convince him that I would do him no Harm, and taking him up by the Hand, laugh'd at him, and pointing to the Kid which I had kill'd, beckon'd to him to run and fetch it, which he did; and while he was wondering and looking to ſee how the Creature was kill'd, I loaded my Gun again, and by-and-by I ſaw a great Fowl like a Hawk ſit upon a Tree within ſhot; ſo, to let *Friday* underſtand a little what I would do, I call'd him to me again, pointing at the Fowl, which was indeed a Parrot, tho' I thought it had been a Hawk; I ſay, pointing to the Parrot, and to my Gun, and to the Ground under the Parrot, to let him ſee I would make it fall, I made him underſtand that I would ſhoot and kill that Bird; accordingly I fir'd, and bad him look, and immediately he ſaw the Parrot fall; he ſtood like one frighted again, notwithſtanding all I had ſaid to him; and I found he was the more amaz'd, becauſe he did not ſee me put any thing into the Gun; but thought that there muſt be ſome wonderful Fund of Death and Deſtruction in that Thing, able to kill Man, Beaſt,

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Beast, Bird, or any thing near or far off; and the Astonishment this created in him was such, as could not wear off for a long Time; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worship'd me and my Gun: As for the Gun itself, he would not so much as touch it for several Days after; but would speak to it, and talk to it, as if it had answer'd him, when he was by himself; which, as I afterwards learn'd of him, was to desire it not to kill him.

Well: After his Astonishment was a little over at this, I pointed to him to run and fetch the Bird I had shot, which he did, but stay'd some Time; for the Parrot not being quite dead, was flutter'd a good way off from the Place where she fell; however, he found her, took her up, and brought her to me; and, as I had perceiv'd his Ignorance about the Gun before, I took this Advantage to charge the Gun again, and not let him see me do it, that I might be ready for any other Mark that might present; but nothing more offer'd at that Time; so I brought home the Kid, and the same Evening I took the Skin off, and cut it out as well as I could; and having a Pot for that Purpose, I boil'd or stew'd some of the Flesh, and made some very good Broth; and after I had begun to eat some, I gave some to my Man, who seem'd very glad of it, and lik'd it very well; but that which was strangest to him, was to see me eat Salt with it; he made a Sign to me, that the Salt was not good to eat, and putting a little into his own Mouth, he seem'd to nauseate it, and would spit and sputter at it, washing his Mouth with fresh Water after it; on the other Hand, I took some Meat in my Mouth without Salt, and I pretended to spit and sputter for want of Salt, as fast as he had done at the Salt; but it would not do, he would

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would never care for Salt with his Meat, or in his Broth; at leaſt, not a great while, and then but a very little.

Having thus fed him with boil'd Meat and Broth, I was reſolv'd to feaſt him the next Day with roaſting a Piece of the Kid; this I did by hanging it before the Fire in a String, as I had ſeen many People do in *England*, ſetting two Poles up, one on each Side the Fire, and one croſs on the top, and tying the String to the croſs Stick, letting the Meat turn continually: This *Friday* admir'd very much; but when he came to taſte the Fleſh, he took ſo many ways to tell me how well he lik'd it, that I could not but underſtand him; and at laſt he told me he would never eat Man's Fleſh any more, which I was very glad to hear.

The next Day I ſet him to work to beating ſome Corn out, and ſifting it in the Manner I uſed to do, as I obſerv'd before; and he ſoon underſtood how to do it as well as I, eſpecially, after he had ſeen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make Bread of; for after that I let him ſee me make my Bread, and bake it too; and in a little Time *Friday* was able to do all the Work for me, as well as I could do it myſelf.

I began now to conſider, that having two Mouths to feed inſtead of one, I muſt provide more Ground for my Harveſt, and plant a larger Quantity of Corn than I uſed to do; ſo I mark'd out a larger Piece of Land, and began the Fence in the ſame Manner as before, in which *Friday* not only work'd very willingly and very hard, but did it very chearfully; and I told him what it was for, that it was for Corn to make more Bread, becauſe he was now with me, and that I might have enough for him and myſelf too: He appear'd very ſenſible of that Part, and let me know, that he thought I had

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much more Labour upon me on his Account, than I had for myself; and that he would work the harder for me, if I would tell him what to do.

This was the pleasantest Year of all the Life I led in this Place: *Friday* began to talk pretty well, and understand the Names of almost every thing I had Occasion to call for, and of every Place I had to send him to, and talk a great deal to me; so that, in short, I began now to have some use for my Tongue again, which indeed I had very little Occasion for before; that is to say, *about Speech*: Besides the Pleasure of talking to him, I had a singular Satisfaction in the Fellow himself; his simple unfeign'd Honesty appear'd to me more and more every Day, and I began really to love the Creature; and on his Side, I believe he lov'd me more than it was possible for him ever to love any Thing before.

I had a Mind once to try if he had any hankering Inclination to his own Country again; and having learn'd him *English* so well, that he could answer me almost any Questions, I ask'd him whether the Nation that he belong'd to never conquer'd in Battle? At which he smil'd, and said, Yes, yes, we always fight the better; that is, he meant always get the better in Fight; and so we began the following Discourse. You always fight the better, said I, How came you to be taken Prisoner then, *Friday*?

Friday. My Nation beat much, for all that.

Master. How beat; if your Nation beat them, how came you to be taken?

Friday. They more many than my Nation in the Place where me was; they take one, two, three, and me; my Nation over-beat them in the yonder Place, where me no was; there my Nation take one, two, great Thousand.

Master. But why did not your Side recover you from the Hands of your Enemies then?

Friday.

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Friday. They run one, two, three, and me, and make go in the *Canoe*; my Nation have no *Canoe* that Time.

Master. Well, *Friday*, and what does your Nation do with the Men they take, do they carry them away, and eat them, as these did?

Friday. Yes, my Nation eat Man's too, eat all up.

Master. Where do they carry them?

Friday. Go to other Place where they think.

Master. Do they come hither?

Friday. Yes, yes, they come hither; come other else Place.

Master. Have you been here with them?

Friday. Yes, I been here; [*points to the N. W. Side of the Island, which, it seems, was their Side.*]

By this I understood, that my Man *Friday* had formerly been among the Savages, who used to come on Shore on the farther Part of the Island, on the said Man-eating Occasions that he was now brought for; and some Time after, when I took the Courage to carry him to that Side, being the same I formerly mention'd, he presently knew the Place, and told me, he was there once when they eat up twenty Men, two Women, and one Child: He could not tell twenty in *English*; but he number'd them by laying so many Stones in a Row, and pointing to me to tell them over.

I have told this Passage, because it introduces what follows; that after I had had this Discourse with him, I ask'd him how far it was from our Island to the Shore, and whether the *Canoes* were not often lost; he told me there was no Danger, no *Canoes* ever lost; but that after a little Way out to the Sea, there was a Current, and a Wind always one Way in the Morning, the other in the Afternoon.

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This I underſtood to be no more than the Sets of the Tide, as going out, or coming in; but I afterwards underſtood, it was occaſion'd by the great Draft and Reflux of the mighty River *Oroonooko*; in the Mouth or the Gulph of which River, as I thought afterwards, our Iſland lay; and that this Land, which I perceiv'd to the *W.* and *N. W.* was the great Iſland *Trinidad*, on the *North* Point of the Mouth of the River. I ask'd *Friday* a thouſand Queſtions about the Country, the Inhabitants, the Sea, the Coaſt, and what Nations were near; he told me all he knew, with the greateſt Openneſs imaginable. I ask'd him the Names of the ſeveral Nations of his ſort of People, but could get no other Name than *Caribs*; from whence I eaſily underſtood, that theſe were the *Caribbees*, which our Maps place on the Part of *America*, which reaches from the Mouth of the River *Oroonooko* to *Guiana*, and onwards to St. *Martha*: He told me that up a great Way beyond the Moon, that was, beyond the ſetting of the Moon, which muſt be *W.* from their Country, there dwelt white bearded Men, like me; and pointed to my great Whiskers, which I mention'd before; and that they had kill'd *much Mans*, that was his Word: By all which I underſtood, he meant the *Spaniards*, whoſe Cruelties in *America* had been ſpread over the whole Countries, and were remember'd by all the Nations from Father to Son.

I enquir'd if he could tell me how I might come from this Iſland, and get among thoſe white Men; he told me, Yes, yes, I might go *in two Canoe*; I could not underſtand what he meant, or make him deſcribe to me what he meant by *two Canoe*, till at laſt, with great Difficulty, I found he meant it muſt be in a large great Boat, as big as *two Canoes*.

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This Part of *Friday*'s Discourse began to relish with me very well, and from this Time I entertain'd some Hopes, that one Time or other, I might find an Opportunity to make my Escape from this Place; and that this poor Savage might be a Means to help me to do it.

During the long Time that *Friday* has now been with me, and that he began to speak to me, and understand me, I was not wanting to lay a Foundation of religious Knowledge in his Mind; particularly, I ask'd him one Time, Who made him? The poor Creature did not understand me at all, but thought I had ask'd who was his Father: But I took it by another Handle, and ask'd him who made the Sea, the Ground we walk'd on, and the Hills and Woods? he told me it was one old *Benamuckee*, that liv'd beyond all: He could describe nothing of this great Person, but that he was very old; much older, he said, than the Sea or the Land, than the Moon or the Stars: I ask'd him then, if this old Person had made all Things, why did not all Things worship him? He look'd very grave, and with a perfect Look of Innocence, said, *All Things said O to him*: I ask'd him if the People, who die in his Country, went away any where? He said, Yes, they all went to *Benamuckee*: Then I ask'd him, Whether these they eat up went thither too? He said, Yes.

From these Things I began to instruct him in the Knowledge of the true God. I told him, That the great Maker of all Things liv'd up there, pointing up towards Heaven: That he governs the World by the same Power and Providence by which he had made it: That he was Omnipotent, could do every Thing for us, give every Thing to us, take every Thing from us; and thus, by degrees, I open'd his Eyes. He listen'd with great Attention,

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tention, and receiv'd with Pleasure the Notion of *Jesus Christ*, being sent to redeem us, and of the Manner of making our Prayers to God, and his being able to hear us, even into Heaven. He told me one Day, that if our God could hear us up beyond the Sun, he must needs be a greater God than their *Benamuckee*, who liv'd but a little Way off, and yet could not hear, 'till they went up to the great Mountains where he dwelt, to speak to him: I ask'd him if ever he went thither to speak to him. He said, No, they never went that were young Men; none went thither but the old Men, who he call'd their *Oewokakee*, that is, as I made him explain it to me, their Religious, or Clergy, and that they went to say *O*, (so he call'd saying Prayers) and then came back, and told them what *Benamuckee* said. By this I observ'd, That there is *Priestcraft*, even amongst the most blinded ignorant Pagans in the World; and the Policy of making a secret Religion, in order to preserve the Veneration of the People to the Clergy, is not only to be found in the *Roman*, but perhaps among all Religions in the World, even among the most brutish and barbarous Savages.

I endeavour'd to clear up this Fraud to my Man *Friday*, and told him, That the Pretence of their old Men going up to the Mountains to say *O* to their God *Benamuckee*, was a Cheat, and their bringing Word from thence what he said, was much more so; that if they met with any Answer, or spoke with any one there, it must be with an evil Spirit: And then I enter'd into a long Discourse with him about the Devil, the Original of him, his Rebellion against God, his Enmity to Man, the Reason of it, his setting himself up in the dark Parts of the World to be worship'd instead of God, and as God; and the many Strata-

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gems he made use of, to delude Mankind to their Ruin; how he had a secret Access to our Passions, and to our Affections, to adapt his Snares so to our Inclinations, as to cause us even to be our own Tempters, and to run upon our Destruction by our own Choice.

I found it was not so easy to imprint right Notions in his Mind about the Devil, as it was about the Being of a God. Nature assisted all my Arguments to evidence to him even the Necessity of a great first Cause and over-ruling governing Power, a secret directing Providence, and of the Equity and Justice of paying Homage to him that made us, and the like. But there appear'd nothing of all this in the Notion of an evil Spirit, of his Original, his Being, his Nature, and above all, of his Inclination to do Evil, and to draw us in to do so too. And the poor Creature puzzled me once in such a Manner, by a Question meerly natural and innocent, that I scarce knew what to say to him. I had been talking a great deal to him of the Power of God, his Omnipotence, his dreadful Aversion to Sin, his being a consuming Fire to the Workers of Iniquity; how, as he had made us all, he could destroy us and all the World in a Moment; and he listen'd with great Seriousness to me all the while.

After this, I had been telling him how the Devil was God's Enemy in the Hearts of Men, and used all his Malice and Skill to defeat the good Designs of Providence, and to ruin the Kingdom of Christ in the World, and the like. Well, says *Friday*, but you say, God is so strong, so great, is he not much stronger, much might as the Devil? Yes, yes, says I, *Friday*, God is stronger than the Devil, God is above the Devil, and therefore we pray to God to tread him down under our Feet, and

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and enable us to resist his Temptations, and quench his fiery Darts. *But*, says he again, *if God much strong, much might as the Devil, why God no kill the Devil, so make him no work do wicked?*

I was strangely surpriz'd at his Question, and after all, tho' I was now an old Man, yet I was but a young Doctor, and ill enough qualify'd for a Casuist, or a Solver of Difficulties: And, at first, I could not tell what to say, so I pretended not to hear him, and ask'd him what he said? But he was too earnest for an Answer to forget his Question; so that he repeated it in the very same broken Words, as above. By this Time I had recovered myself a little, and I said, *God will at last punish him severely; he is reserv'd for the Judgment, and is to be cast into the Bottomless Pit, to dwell with everlasting Fire.* This did not satisfy *Friday*, but he returns upon me, repeating my Words, RESERVE AND LAST, *me no understand, But, Why not kill the Devil now, not kill great ago?* You may as well ask me, *said I*, Why God does not kill you and I, when we do wicked Things here that offend him. We are preserv'd to repent and be pardon'd: He muses a while at this; *Well, well*, says he, mighty affectionately, *that well; so you, I, Devil, all wicked, all preserve, repent, God pardon all.* Here I was run down again by him to the last Degree, and it was a Testimony to me, how the meer Notions of Nature, though they will guide reasonable Creatures to the Knowledge of a God, and of a Worship or Homage due to the supreme Being of God, as the Consequence of our Nature; yet nothing but divine Revelation can form the Knowledge of *Jesus Christ*, and of a Redemption purchas'd for us, of a Mediator of the new Covenant, and of an Intercessor, at the Foot Stool of God's Throne; I say, nothing but a Revelation from Heaven can form these in

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the Soul; and that therefore the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, I mean, the Word of God, and the Spirit of God, promis'd for the Guide and Sanctifier of his People, are the absolutely necessary Instructors of the Souls of Men, in the saving Knowledge of God, and the Means of Salvation.

I therefore diverted the present Discourse between me and my Man, rising up hastily, as upon some sudden Occasion of going out; then sending him for something a good Way off, I seriously pray'd to God, that he would enable me to instruct savingly this poor Savage, assisting by his Spirit the Heart of the poor ignorant Creature, to receive the Light of the Knowledge of God in *Christ*, reconciling him to himself, and would guide me to speak so to him from the Word of God, as his Conscience might be convinc'd, his Eyes open'd, and his Soul sav'd. When he came again to me, I enter'd into a long Discourse with him upon the Subject of the Redemption of Man by the Saviour of the World, and of the Doctrine of the Gospel preach'd from Heaven, *viz.* of Repentance towards God, and Faith in our blessed Lord *Jesus*. I then explain'd to him, as well as I could, why our Blessed Redeemer took not on him the Nature of Angels, but the Seed of *Abraham*, and how for that Reason the fallen Angels had no Share in the Redemption; that he came only to the lost Sheep of the House of *Israel*, and the like.

I had, *God knows*, more Sincerity than Knowledge, in all the Methods I took for this poor Creature's Instruction, and must acknowledge what I believe all that act upon the same Principle will find, That in laying Things open to him, I really inform'd and instructed myself in many Things, that either I did not know, or had not fully consider'd before;

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before; but which occur'd naturally to my Mind, upon my ſearching into them, for the Information of this poor Savage; and I had more Affection in my Enquiry after Things upon this Occaſion, than ever I felt before; ſo that whether this poor wild Wretch was the better for me, or no, I had great Reaſon to be thankful that ever he came to me: My Grief ſet lighter upon me, my Habitation grew comfortable to me beyond Meaſure; and when I reflected that in this ſolitary Life which I had been confin'd to, I had not only been mov'd myſelf to look up to Heaven, and to ſeek to the Hand that had brought me there; but was now to be made an Inſtrument under Providence to ſave the Life, and, *for ought I know*, the Soul of a poor Savage, and bring him to the true Knowledge of Religion, and of the Chriſtian Doctrine, that he might know Chriſt Jeſus, *to know whom is Life eternal*. I ſay, When I reflected upon all theſe Things, a ſecret Joy run through every Part of my Soul, and I frequently rejoic'd that ever I was brought to this Place, which I had ſo often thought the moſt dreadful of all Afflictions that could poſſibly have befallen me.

In this thankful Frame I continu'd all the Remainder of my Time, and the Converſation which employ'd the Hours between *Friday* and I, was ſuch, as made the three Years which we liv'd there together perfectly and compleatly happy, *if any ſuch Thing as compleat Happineſs can be form'd in a ſublunary State*. The Savage was now a good Chriſtian, a much better than I; though I have Reaſon to hope, and bleſs God for it, that we were equally penitent, and comforted reſtor'd Penitents; we had here the Word of God to read, and no farther off from his Spirit to inſtruct, than if we had been in *England*.

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I always apply'd myself to reading the Scripture, to let him know, as well as I could, the Meaning of what I read; and he again, by his serious Enquiries and Questions, made me, *as I said before*, a much better Scholar in the Scripture Knowledge, than I should ever have been by my own private meer Reading. Another Thing I cannot refrain from observing here also from Experience, in this retir'd Part of my Life, *viz.* How infinite and inexpressible a Blessing it is, that the Knowledge of God, and of the Doctrine of Salvation by *Christ Jesus*, is so plainly laid down in the Word of God, so easy to be receiv'd and understood, that as the bare Reading the Scripture made me capable of understanding enough of my Duty, to carry me directly on to the great Work of sincere Repentance for my Sins, and laying hold of a Saviour for Life and Salvation, to a stated Reformation in Practice, and Obedience to all God's Commands, and this without any Teacher or Instructer (I mean, humane) so the same plain Instruction sufficiently serv'd to the Enlightning this Savage Creature, and bringing him to be such a Christian, as I have known few equal to him in my Life.

As to all the Disputes, Wranglings, Strife, and Contention, which has happen'd in the World about Religion, whether Niceties in Doctrines, or Schemes of Church Government, they were all perfectly useless to us, as for ought I can yet see, they have been to all the rest in the World: We had the *sure Guide* to Heaven, *viz.* The Word of God; and we had, *blessed be God*, comfortable Views of the Spirit of God, teaching and instructing us by his Word, *leading us into all Truth*, and making us both willing and obedient to the Instruction of his Word; and I cannot see the least Use that the greatest

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Knowledge of the disputed Points in Religion, which have made such Confusions in the World, would have been to us, if we could have obtain'd it: But I must go on with the Historical Part of Things, and take every Part in its Order.

After *Friday* and I became more intimately acquainted, and that he could understand almost all I said to him, and speak fluently, though in broken *English*, to me; I acquainted him with my own Story, or at least so much of it as related to my coming into the Place, how I had liv'd there, and how long. I let him into the Mystery, for such it was to him, of Gunpowder and Bullet, and taught him how to shoot: I gave him a Knife, which he was wonderfully delighted with, and I made him a Belt, with a Frog hanging to it, such as in *England* we wear Hangers in; and in the Frog, instead of a Hanger, I gave him a Hatchet, which was not only as good a Weapon in some Cases, but much more useful upon other Occasions.

I describ'd to him the Country of *Europe*, and particularly *England*, which I came from; how we liv'd, how we worship'd God, how we behav'd to one another; and how we traded in Ships to all Parts of the World: I gave him an Account of the Wreck which I had been on board of, and shew'd him as near as I could the Place where she lay; but she was all beaten in Pieces before, and gone.

I shew'd him the Ruins of our Boat, which we lost when we escap'd, and which I could not stir with my whole Strength then, but was now fallen almost all to Peices: Upon seeing this Boat, *Friday* stood musing a great while, and said nothing; I ask'd him what it was he study'd upon; at last, says he, *me see such Boat like come to Place at my Nation.*

I did not understand him a good while; but at last, when I had examin'd farther into it, I under-

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ſtood by him, that a Boat, ſuch as that had been, came on Shore upon the Country where he liv'd; that is, as he explain'd it, was driven thither by Streſs of Weather: I preſently imagin'd, that ſome *European* Ship muſt have been caſt away upon their Coaſt, and the Boat might get looſe, and drive aſhore, but was ſo dull, that I never once thought of Men making eſcape from a Wreck thither, much leſs whence they might come; ſo I only enquir'd after a Deſcription of the Boat.

Friday deſcrib'd the Boat to me well enough; but brought me better to underſtand him, when he added with ſome Warmth, *we ſave the white Mans from drown*. Then I preſently ask'd him, if there was any white Mans, as he call'd them, in the Boat: *Ie*, he ſaid, *the Boat full of white Mans*: I ask'd him how many; he told upon his Fingers ſeventeen; I ask'd him then what became of them; he told me, *they live, they dwell at my Nation*.

This put new Thoughts into my Head; for I preſently imagin'd, that theſe might be the Men belonging to the Ship that was caſt away in Sight of my Iſland, as I now call it; and who, after the Ship was ſtruck on the Rock, and they ſaw her inevitably loſt, had ſav'd themſelves in their Boat, and were landed upon that wild Shore, among the Savages.

Upon this, I enquir'd of him more critically what was become of them; he aſſur'd me they liv'd ſtill there; that they had been there about four Years; that the Savages let them alone, and gave them Victuals to live. I ask'd him, how it came to paſs they did not kill them and eat them; he ſaid, *No, they make Brother with them*; that is, as I underſtood him, a Truce: And then he added, *They no eat Mans but when make the War fight*: That is to ſay, they never eat any Men, but

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such as come to fight with them, and are taken in Battel.

It was after this, some considerable Time, that being on the Top of the Hill, at the East side of the Island, from whence, as I have said, I had in a clear Day discover'd the Main or Continent of *America*, *Friday*, the Weather being very serene, looks very earnestly towards the main Land, and in a kind of Surprize falls a jumping and dancing, and calls out to me, for I was at some Distance from him: I ask'd him what was the Matter; *O Joy!* says he, *O Glad! There see my Country, there my Nation!*

I observ'd an extraordinary Sense of Pleasure appear'd in his Face, and his Eyes sparkled, and his Countenance discover'd a strange Eagerness, as if he had a Mind to be in his own Country again; and this Observation of mine put a great many Thoughts into me, which made me at first not so easy about my new Man *Friday* as I was before; and I made no Doubt, but that if *Friday* could get back to his own Nation again, he would not only forget all his Religion, but all his Obligation to me; and would be forward enough to give his Countrymen an Account of me, and come back perhaps, with a hundred or two of them, and make a Feast upon me, at which he might be as merry as he used to be with those of his Enemies, when they were taken in War.

But I wrong'd the poor honest Creature very much, for which I was very sorry afterwards. However, as my Jealousy increas'd, and held me some Weeks, I was a little more circumspect, and not so familiar and kind to him as before; in which I was certainly in the Wrong too, the honest grateful Creature having no Thought about it, but what consisted with the best Principles, both

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as a religious Christian, and as a grateful Friend, as appear'd afterwards to my full Satisfaction.

While my Jealousy of him lasted, you may be sure I was every Day pumping him to see if he would discover any of the new Thoughts, which I suspected were in him; but I found every Thing he said was so honest, and so innocent, that I could find nothing to nourish my Suspicion; and, in spite of all my Uneasiness, he made me at last entirely his own again; nor did he in the least perceive that I was uneasy, and therefore I could not suspect him of Deceit.

One Day walking up the same Hill, but the Weather being hazy at Sea, so that we could not see the Continent, I call'd to him, and said, *Friday*, do not you wish yourself in your own Country, your own Nation? *Yes*, he said, *I be much O glad to be at my own Nation.* What would you do there, said I, would you turn wild again, eat Mens Flesh again, and be a Savage as you were before? He look'd full of Concern, and shaking his Head, said, *No, no*, Friday. *tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat Corn-bread, Cattle-Flesh, Milk, no eat Man again:* Why then, said I to him, *They will kill you.* He look'd grave at that, and then said, *No, they no kill me, they willing love learn:* He meant by this, they would be willing to learn. He added, they learn'd much of the bearded Mans that came in the Boat. Then I ask'd him if he would go back to them? He smil'd at that, and told me he could not swim so far. I told him I would make a Canoe for him. He told me, he would go, if I would go with him. I go! says I, why, they will eat me if I come there; *No, no*, says he, *me make they no eat you, me make they much love you.* He meant, he would tell them how I had kill'd his Enemies, and sav'd his Life, and so he would

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would make them love me; then he told me, as well as he could, how kind they were to seventeen white Men, or bearded Men, as he call'd them, who came on Shore there in Distress.

From this Time, I confess, I had a Mind to venture over, and see if I could possibly join with these bearded Men, who, I made no doubt, were *Spaniards* or *Portuguese*; not doubting but, if I could, we might find some Method to escape from thence, being upon the Continent, and a good Company together, better than I could from an Island 40 Miles off the Shore, and alone without Help. So, after some Days, I took *Friday* to work again, by way of Discourse, and told him I would give him a Boat to go back to his own Nation; and accordingly I carry'd him to my Frigate, which lay on the other side of the Island, and having clear'd it of Water, for I always kept it sunk in the Water, I brought it out, shew'd it him, and we both went into it.

I found he was a most dextrous Fellow at managing it, would make it go almost as swift and fast again as I could; so when he was in, I said to him, Well, now, *Friday*, shall we go to your Nation? He look'd very dull at my saying so, which, it seems, was because he thought the Boat too small to go so far. I told him then I had a bigger; so the next Day I went to the Place where the first Boat lay which I had made, but which I could not get into Water; He said that was big enough; but then, as I had taken no Care of it, and it had lain two or three and twenty Years there, the Sun had split and dry'd it, that it was in a Manner rotten. *Friday* told me, such a Boat would do very well, and would carry *much enough Vittle, Drink, Bread*, that was his Way of Talking.

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Upon the whole, I was by this Time ſo fix'd upon my Deſign of going over with him to the Continent, that I told him we would go and make one as big as that, and he ſhould go home in it. He anſwer'd not one Word, but look'd very grave and ſad: I ask'd him what was the Matter with him; he ask'd me again thus, *Why you angry mad with* Friday, *what me done?* I ask'd him what he meant; I told him I was not angry with him at all. *No angry! No angry!* ſays he, repeating the Words ſeveral times, *Why ſend* Friday *home away to my Nation?* Why, ſays I, *Friday*, did you not ſay you wiſh'd you were there? *Yes, yes*, ſays he, *wiſh be both there, no wiſh* Friday *there, no Maſter there.* In a word, he would not think of going there without me: I go there, *Friday*, ſays I, what ſhall I do there? He turn'd very quick upon me at this: *You do great deal much Good*, ſays he, *you teach wild Mans be good ſober tame Mans; you tell them know God, pray God, and live new Life.* Alas, *Friday*, ſays I, thou knoweſt not what thou ſay'ſt, I am but an ignorant Man my ſelf. *Yes, yes*, ſays he, *you teachee me Good, you teachee them Good.* No, no, *Friday*, ſays I, you ſhall go without me, leave me here to live by my ſelf, as I did before. He look'd confus'd again at that Word, and running to one of the Hatchets which he us'd to wear, he takes it up haſtily, and gives it me; what muſt I do with this? ſays I to him: *You take kill* Friday, ſays he: What muſt I kill you for? ſaid I again. He returns very quick, *What you ſend* Friday *away for? take kill* Friday, *no ſend* Friday *away.* This he ſpoke ſo earneſtly, that I ſaw Tears ſtand in his Eyes. In a word, I ſo plainly diſcover'd the utmoſt Affection in him to me, and a firm Reſolution in him, that I told him then, and often after, that I would never ſend him away from me, if he was willing to ſtay with me. Upon

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Upon the whole, as I found by all his Diſcourſe a ſettled Affection to me, and that nothing ſhould part him from me, ſo I found all the Foundation of his Deſire to go to his own Country, was laid in his ardent Affection to the People, and his Hopes of my doing them good; a Thing, which as I had no Notion of my ſelf, ſo I had not the leaſt Thought or Intention, or Deſire of undertaking it. But ſtill I found a ſtrong Inclination to my attempting an Eſcape, as above, founded on the Suppoſition gather'd from the Diſcourſe, (*viz.*) That there were ſeventeen bearded Men there, and therefore, without any more Delay, I went to work with *Friday* to find out a great Tree proper to fell, and make a large Periagua or Canoe to undertake the Voyage. There were Trees enough in the Iſland to have built a little Fleet, not of Periagua's and Canoes, but even of good large Veſſels. But the main Thing I look'd at, was to get one ſo near the Water that we might launch it when it was made, to avoid the Miſtake I committed at firſt.

At laſt, *Friday* pitch'd upon a Tree, for I found he knew much better than I what Kind of Wood was fitteſt for it; nor can I tell, to this Day, what Wood to call the Tree we cut down, except that it was very like the Tree we call *Fuſtic*, or between that and the *Nicaragua* Wood, for it was much of the ſame Colour and Smell. *Friday* was for burning the Hollow or Cavity of this Tree out to make it for a Boat: But I ſhew'd him how rather to cut it out with Tools, which after I had ſhew'd him how to uſe, he did very handily, and in about a Month's hard Labour we finiſh'd it, and made it very handſome, eſpecially when with our Axes, which I ſhew'd him how to handle, we cut and hew'd the Out-ſide into the true Shape of a Boat; after this, however, it coſt us near a Fortnight's Time to get her

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her along, as it were, Inch by Inch upon great Rowlers into the Water. But when she was in, she would have carry'd twenty Men with great Ease.

When she was in the Water, and tho' she was so big, it amaz'd me to see with what Dexterity and how swift my Man *Friday* would manage her, turn her, and paddle her along; so I ask'd him if he would, and if we might venture over in her; Yes, he said, *be venture over in her very well, tough great blow Wind.* However, I had a further Design that he knew nothing of, and that was to make a Mast and Sail, and to fit her with an Anchor and Cable. As to a Mast, that was easy enough to get; so I pitch'd upon a strait young Cedar-Tree, which I found near the Place, and which there was great Plenty of in the Island; and I set *Friday* to Work to cut it down, and gave him Directions how to shape and order it. But as to the Sail, that was my particular Care; I knew I had old Sails, or rather Pieces of old Sails enough; but as I had had them now 26 Years by me, and had not been very careful to preserve them, not imagining that I should ever have this kind of Use for them, I did not doubt but they were all rotten; and indeed most of them were so; however, I found two Pieces which appear'd pretty good, and with these I went to work, and with a great deal of Pains, and awkward tedious stitching (you may be sure) for Want of Needles, I at length made a three-corner'd ugly Thing, like what we call in *England*, a Shoulder of Mutton Sail, to go with a Boom at Bottom, and a little short Sprit at the Top, such as usually but Ships Long-Boats sail with, and such as I best knew how to manage; because it was such a one as I had to the Boat in which I made my Escape from *Barbary*, as related in the first Part of my Story.

I was

I was near two Months performing this laſt Work, viz. rigging and fitting my Maſt and Sails; for I finiſh'd them very compleat, making a ſmall Stay, and a Sail, or Foreſail to it, to aſſiſt, if we ſhould turn to Windward: and which was more than all, I fix'd a Rudder to the Stern of her, to ſteer with: and though I was but a bungling Shipwright, yet as I knew the Uſefulneſs, and even Neceſſity of ſuch a Thing, I apply'd myſelf with ſo much Pains to do it, that at laſt I brought it to paſs, tho' conſidering the many dull Contrivances I had for it that fail'd, I think it coſt me almoſt as much Labour as making the Boat.

After all this was done too, I had my Man *Friday* to teach as to what belong'd to the Navigation of my Boat; for though he knew very well how to paddle a Canoe, he knew nothing what belong'd to a Sail and a Rudder, and was the moſt amaz'd when he ſaw me work the Boat too and again in the Sea by the Rudder, and how the Sail gyb'd, and fill'd this Way or that Way, as the Courſe we ſail'd chang'd: I ſay, when he ſaw this, he ſtood like one aſtoniſh'd and amaz'd: However, with a little Uſe, I made all theſe Things familiar to him; and he became an expert Sailor, except that as to the Compaſs, I could make him underſtand very little of that. On the other Hand, as there was very little cloudy Weather, and ſeldom or never any Fogs in thoſe Parts, there was the leſs Occaſion for a Compaſs, ſeeing the Stars were always to be ſeen by Night, and the Shore by Day, except in the rainy Seaſons, and then no Body cared to ſtir abroad, either by Land or Sea.

I was now enter'd on the ſeven and twentieth Year of my Captivity in this Place; though the three laſt Years that I had this Creature with me, ought rather to be left out of the Account, my Habitation

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bitation being quite of another Kind than in all the reſt of the Time. I kept the Anniverſary of my landing here with the ſame Thankfulneſs to God for his Mercies, as at firſt; and if I had ſuch Cauſe of Acknowledgment at firſt, I had much more ſo now, having ſuch additional Teſtimonies of the Care of Providence over me, and the great Hopes I had of being effectually and ſpeedily deliver'd; for I had an invincible Impreſſion upon my Thoughts, that my Deliverance was at Hand, and that I ſhould not be another Year in this Place: However, I went on with my Husbandry, digging, planting, fencing, as uſual; I gather'd and cur'd my Grapes, and did every neceſſary Thing, as before.

The rainy Seaſon was in the mean time upon me, when I kept more within Doors than at other Times; ſo I had ſtow'd our new Veſſel as ſecure as we could, bringing her up into the Creek, where, as I ſaid, in the Beginning I landed my Rafts from the Ship, and haling her up to the Shore, at high Water Mark, I made my Man *Friday* dig a little Dock, juſt big enough to hold her, and juſt deep enough to give her Water enough to float in; and then, when the Tide was out, we made a ſtrong Dam croſs the End of it to keep the Water out; and ſo ſhe lay dry, as to the Tide, from the Sea; and to keep the Rain off, we laid a great many Boughs of Trees ſo thick, that ſhe was as well thatch'd as a Houſe; and thus we waited for the Month of *November* and *December*, in which I deſign'd to make my Adventure.

When the ſettled Seaſon began to come in, as the Thought of my Deſign return'd with the fair Weather, I was preparing daily for the Voyage; and the firſt Thing I did, was to lay by a certain Quantity of Proviſions, being the Stores for our Voyage; and intended, in a Week or a Fortnight's Time,

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Time, to open the Dock, and launch out our Boat. I was busy one Morning upon something of this kind, when I call'd to *Friday*, and bid him go to the Sea Shore, and see if he could find a Turtle, or Tortoise, a Thing which we generally got once a Week, for the Sake of the Eggs, as well as the Flesh: *Friday* had not been long gone, when he came running back, and flew over my outer Wall, or Fence, like one that felt not the Ground, or the Steps he set his Feet on; and before I had Time to speak to him, he cries out to me, *O Master! O Master! O Sorrow! O bad!* What's the Matter, *Friday*, says I; *O yonder, there*, says he, *one, two, three Canoe! one, two, three!* By his way of speaking I concluded there were six; but on Enquiry I found it was but three: Well, *Friday*, says I, do not be frighted; so I hearten'd him up as well as I could: However, I saw the poor Fellow was most terribly scar'd; for nothing ran in his Head but that they were come to look for him, and would eat him in Pieces, and eat him; and the poor Fellow trembled so, that I scarce knew what to do with him: I comforted him as well as I could, and told him I was in as much Danger as he, and that they would eat me as well as him; *but*, says I, *Friday, we must resolve to fight them; Can you fight*, Friday? *Me shoot*, says he, *but there come many great Number.* No matter for that, said I again, our Guns will fright them that we do not kill; so I ask'd him, Whether if I resolv'd to defend him, he would defend me, and stand by me, and do just as I bid him? He said, *Me die, when you bid die, Master*; so I went and fetch'd a good Dram of Rum, and gave him; for I had been so good a Husband of my Rum, that I had a great deal left: When he had drank it, I made him take the two Fowling-Pieces, which we always carry'd, and load them with large Swan-Shot, as big as small Pistol

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Bullets; then I took four Muſkets, and loaded them with two Slugs, and five ſmall Bullets each; and my two Piſtols I loaded with a Brace of Bullets each: I hung my great Sword as uſual, naked by my Side, and gave *Friday* his Hatchet.

When I had thus prepar'd my ſelf, I took my Perſpective Glaſs, and went up to the Side of the Hill, to ſee what I could diſcover; and I found quickly, by my Glaſs, that there were one and twenty Savages, three Priſoners, and three *Canoes*; and that their whole Buſineſs ſeem'd to be the triumphant Banquet upon theſe three human Bodies, (a barbarous Feaſt indeed) but nothing more than as I had obſerv'd was uſual with them.

I obſerv'd alſo, that they were landed not where they had done when *Friday* made his Eſcape, but nearer to my Creek, where the Shore was low, and where a thick Wood came cloſe almoſt down to the Sea: This, with the Abhorrence of the inhumane Errand theſe Wretches came about, fill'd me with ſuch Indignation, that I came down again to *Friday* and told him, I was reſolv'd to go down to them, and kill them all; and aſk'd him if he would ſtand by me? He had now gotten over his Fright, and his Spirits being a little rais'd with the Dram I had given him, he was very chearful, and told me, as before, *he would die, when I bid die.*

In this Fit of Fury, I took firſt and divided the Arms which I had charg'd, as before, between us: I gave *Friday* one Piſtol to ſtick in his Girdle, and three Guns upon his Shoulder; and I took one Piſtol, and the other three my ſelf; and in this Poſture we march'd out: I took a ſmall Bottle of Rum in my Pocket, and gave *Friday* a large Bag with more Powder and Bullet; and as to Orders, I charg'd him to keep cloſe behind me, and not to ſtir, or ſhoot, or do any thing, till I bid him; and

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in the mean Time, not to ſpeak a Word: In this Poſture I fetch'd a Compaſs to my Right Hand of near a Mile, as well to get over the Creek, as to get unto the Wood; ſo that I might come within Shot of them before I ſhould be diſcover'd, which I had ſeen by my Glaſs it was eaſy to do.

While I was making this March, my former Thoughts returning, I began to abate my Reſolution; I do not mean, that I entertain'd any Fear of their Number; for as they were naked, unarm'd Wretches, 'tis certain I was ſuperior to them; nay, though I had been alone; but it occurr'd to my Thoughts, What Call? What Occaſion? much leſs, What Neceſſity I was in to go and dip my Hands in Blood, to attack People, who had neither done or intended me any Wrong? Who, as to me, were innocent, and whoſe barbarous Cuſtoms were their own Diſaſter, being in them a Token indeed of God's having left them, with the other Nations of that Part of the World, to ſuch Stupidity and to ſuch inhumane Courſes; but did not call me to take upon me to be a Judge of their Actions, much leſs an Executioner of his Juſtice; that whenever he thought fit, he would take the Cauſe into his own Hands, and by National Vengeance puniſh them as a People for National Crimes; but that, in the meantime, it was none of my Buſineſs; that it was true, *Friday* might juſtify it, becauſe he was a declar'd Enemy, and in a State of War with thoſe very particular People, and it was lawful for him to attack them; but I could not ſay the ſame with reſpect to me. Theſe Things were ſo warmly preſs'd upon my Thoughts all the Way as I went, that I reſolv'd I would only go and place myſelf near them, that I might obſerve their barbarous Feaſt, and that I would act then as God ſhould direct; but that unleſs ſomething offer'd that was

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more a Call to me than yet I knew of, I would not meddle with them.

With this Resolution I enter'd the Wood, and with all possible Waryness and Silence (*Friday* following close at my Heels) I march'd till I came to the Skirt of the Wood, on the Side which was next to them; only that one Corner of the Wood lay between me and them: Here I call'd softly to *Friday*, and shewing him a great Tree, which was just at the Corner of the Wood, I bad him go to the Tree, and bring me Word if he could see there plainly what they were doing; he did so, and came immediately back to me, and told me they might be plainly view'd there; that they were all about their Fire, eating the Flesh of one of their Prisoners; and that another lay bound upon the Sand, a little from them, which he said they would kill next, and which fir'd all the very Soul within me: He told me it was not one of their Nation, but one of the bearded Men, who he had told me of, that came to their Country in the Boat: I was fill'd with Horror at the very naming the white-bearded Man, and, going to the Tree, I saw plainly, by my Glass, a white Man, who lay upon the Beach of the Sea, with his Hands and his Feet ty'd with Flags, or Things like Rushes, and that he was an *European*, and had Cloaths on.

There was another Tree, and a little Thicket beyond it, about fifty Yards nearer to them than the Place where I was, which, by going a little Way about, I saw I might come at undiscover'd, and that then I should be within half Shot of them; so I with-held my Passion, though I was indeed enrag'd to the highest Degree, and going back about twenty Paces, I got behind some Bushes, which held all the Way, till I came to the other Tree; and then I came to a little rising Ground, which gave me a

full

full View of them, at the Diſtance of about eighty Yards.

I had now not a Moment to loſe; for nineteen of the dreadful Wretches ſate upon the Ground, all cloſe huddled together, and had juſt ſent the other two to butcher the poor *Chriſtian*, and bring him, perhaps Limb by Limb to their Fire; and they were ſtoop'd down to untie the Bands, at his Feet: I turn'd to *Friday*, Now, *Friday*, ſaid I, do as I bid thee; *Friday* ſaid he would; then, *Friday*, ſays I, do exactly as you ſee me do, fail in nothing; ſo I ſet down one of the Muſkets and the Fowling-Piece upon the Ground, and *Friday* did the like by his; and with the other Muſket I took my Aim at the Savages, bidding him do the like; then aſking him, If he was ready? he ſaid, Yes; then fire at them, ſaid I; and the ſame Moment I fir'd alſo.

Friday took his Aim ſo much better than I, that on the Side that he ſhot, he kill'd two of them, and wounded three more; and on my Side, I kill'd one, and wounded two: They were, you may be ſure, in a dreadful Conſternation; and all of them, who were not hurt, jump'd up upon their Feet, but did not immediately know which Way to run, or which Way to look; for they knew not from whence their Deſtruction came: *Friday* kept his Eyes cloſe upon me, that as I had bid him, he might obſerve what I did; ſo, as ſoon as the firſt Shot was made, I threw down the Piece, and took up the Fowling-Piece, and *Friday* did the like; he ſee me cock, and preſent, he did the ſame again; Are you ready? *Friday*, ſaid I; yes, ſays he; let fly then, ſays I, in the Name of God, and with that I fir'd again among the amaz'd Wretches, and ſo did *Friday*; and as our Pieces were now loaden with what I call'd Swan-Shot, or ſmall Piſtol Bul-

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lets, we found only two drop; but ſo many were wounded, that they ran about yelling and ſkreaming like mad Creatures, all bloody, and miſerably wounded, moſt of them; whereof three more fell quickly after, though not quite dead.

Now, *Friday*, ſays I, laying down the diſcharg'd Pieces, and taking up the Muſket, which was yet loaden, follow me, ſays I; which he did, with a great deal of Courage; upon which I ruſh'd out of the Wood, and ſhew'd my ſelf, and *Friday* cloſe at my Foot: As ſoon as I perceiv'd they ſaw me, I ſhouted as loud as I could, and bad *Friday* do ſo too; and running as faſt as I could, *which by the way was not very faſt, being loaden with Arms as I was*, I made directly towards the poor Victim, who was, as I ſaid, lying upon the Beach, or Shore, between the Place where they ſat and the Sea; the two Butchers, who were juſt going to work with him, had left him, at the Surprize of our firſt Fire, and fled in a terrible Fright to the Sea-ſide, and had jump'd into a *Canoe*, and three more of the reſt made the ſame Way: I turn'd to *Friday*, and bid him ſtep forwards, and fire at them; he underſtood me immediately, and running about forty Yards to be near them, he ſhot at them, and I thought he had kill'd them all; for I ſee them all fall of a Heap into the Boat; though I ſaw two of them up again quickly: However, he kill'd two of them, and wounded the third; ſo that he lay down in the Bottom of the Boat, as if he had been dead.

While my Man *Friday* fir'd at them, I pull'd out my Knife, and cut the Flags that bound the poor Victim, and looſing his Hands and Feet, I lifted him up, and aſk'd him in the *Portugueſe* Tongue, What he was? He anſwer'd in *Latin*, *Chriſtianus*; but was ſo weak and faint, that he could ſcarce ſtand,

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ſtand or ſpeak; I took my Bottle out of my Pocket, and gave it him, making Signs that he ſhould drink, which he did; and I gave him a Piece of Bread, which he eat; then I aſk'd him, What Countryman he was? And he ſaid, *Eſpagniole*; and being a little recover'd, let me know by all the Signs he could poſſibly make, how much he was in my Debt for his Deliverance: *Seignior*, ſaid I, with as much *Spaniſh* as I could make up, we will talk afterwards, but we muſt fight now; if you have any Strength left, take this Piſtol and Sword, and lay about you. He took them very thankfully, and no ſooner had he the Arms in his Hands, but as if they had put new Vigour into him, he flew upon his Murderers like a Fury, and had cut two of them in Pieces in an inſtant; for the Truth is, as the whole was a Surprize to them, ſo the poor Creatures were ſo much frighted with the Noiſe of our Pieces, that they fell down for meer Amazement and Fear, and had no more Power to attempt their own Eſcape, than their Fleſh had to reſiſt our Shot; and that was the Caſe of thoſe five that *Friday* ſhot at in the Boat; for as three of them fell with the Hurt they receiv'd, ſo the other two fell with the Fright.

I kept my Piece in my Hand ſtill, without firing, being willing to keep my Charge ready, becauſe I had given the *Spaniard* my Piſtol and Sword; ſo I call'd to *Friday*, and bade him run up to the Tree from whence we firſt fir'd, and fetch the Arms which lay there, that had been diſcharg'd, which he did with great Swiftneſs; and then giving him my Muſket, I ſat down my ſelf to load all the reſt again, and bade them come to me when they wanted: While I was loading theſe Pieces, there happen'd a fierce Engagement between the *Spaniard* and one of the Savages, who made at him with one of

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their great wooden Swords, the ſame Weapon that was to have kill'd him before, if I had not prevented it: The *Spaniard*, who was as bold and as brave as could be imagin'd, though weak, had fought this *Indian* a good while, and had cut him two great Wounds on his Head; but the Savage being a ſtout luſty Fellow, cloſing in with him, had thrown him down (being faint) and was wringing my Sword out of his Hand, when the *Spaniard*, tho' undermoſt, wiſely quitting the Sword, drew the Piſtol from his Girdle, ſhot the Savage through the Body, and kill'd him upon the Spot, before I, who was running to help him, could come near him.

Friday being now left to his Liberty, purſu'd the flying Wretches with no Weapon in his Hand, but his Hatchet; and with that he diſpatch'd thoſe three, who, as I ſaid before, were wounded at firſt and fall'n, and all the reſt he could come up with; and the *Spaniard* coming to me for a Gun, I gave him one of the Fowling-Pieces, with which he purſu'd two of the Savages, and wounded them both; but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the Wood, where *Friday* purſu'd them, and kill'd one of them; but the other was too nimble for him; and though he was wounded, yet had plung'd himſelf into the Sea, and ſwam with all his might off to thoſe two who were left in the *Canoe*, which three in the *Canoe*, with one wounded, who we know not whether he dy'd or no, were all that eſcap'd our Hands of one and twenty: The Account of the reſt is as follows;

3 Kill'd at our firſt Shot from the Tree.
2 Kill'd at the next Shot.
2 Kill'd by *Friday* in the Boat.
2 Kill'd by *Ditto*, of thoſe at firſt wounded.
1 Kill'd by *Ditto*, in the Wood.

3 Kill'd

3 Kill'd by the *Spaniard*.
4 Kill'd, being found dropp'd here and there of their Wounds, or kill'd by *Friday* in his Chace of them.
4 Escap'd in the Boat, whereof one wounded, if not dead.

21 In all.

Those that were in the *Canoe*, work'd hard to get out of Gun-Shot; and tho' *Friday* made two or three Shot at them, I did not find that he hit any of them: *Friday* would fain have had me took one of their *Canoes*, and pursu'd them; and indeed I was very anxious about their Escape, least carrying the News Home to their People, they should come back, perhaps, with two or three hundred of their *Canoes*, and devour us by meer Multitude; so I consented to pursue them by Sea, and running to one of their *Canoes*, I jump'd in, and had *Friday* follow me; but when I was in the *Canoe*, I was surpriz'd to find another poor Creature lie there alive, bound Hand and Foot, as the *Spaniard* was, for the Slaughter, and almost dead with Fear, not knowing what the Matter was; for he had not been able to look up over the Side of the Boat, he was ty'd so hard, Neck and Heels, and had been ty'd so long, that he had really little Life in him.

I immediately cut the twisted Flags, or Rushes, which they had bound him with, and would have help'd him up; but he could not stand, or speak, but groan'd most piteously, believing, it seems, still that he was only unbound in order to be kill'd.

When *Friday* came to him, I bade him speak to him, and tell him of his Deliverance, and pulling out my Bottle, made him give the poor Wretch a Dram,

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Dram, which, with the News of his being deliver'd, reviv'd him, and he ſat up in the Boat; but when *Friday* came to hear him ſpeak, and look'd in his Face, it would have mov'd any one to Tears, to have ſeen how *Friday* kiſs'd him, embrac'd him, hugg'd him, cry'd, laugh'd, hollow'd, jump'd about, danc'd, ſung, then cry'd again, wrung his Hands, beat his own Face and Head, and then ſung, and jump'd about again, like a diſtracted Creature: It was a good while before I could make him ſpeak to me, or tell me what was the Matter; but when he came a little to himſelf, he told me that it was his Father.

It is not eaſy for me to expreſs how it mov'd me to ſee what Extaſy and filial Affection had work'd in this poor *Savage*, at the Sight of his Father, and of his being deliver'd from Death; nor indeed can I deſcribe half the Extravagancies of his Affection after this; for he went into the Boat and out of the Boat a great many times: When he went in to him, he would ſit down by him, open his Breaſt, and hold his Father's Head cloſe to his Boſom, half an Hour together, to nouriſh it; then he took his Arms and Ankles, which were numb'd and ſtiff with the Binding, and chaffed and rubbed them with his Hands; and I perceiving what the Caſe was, gave him ſome Rum out of my Bottle, to rub them with, which did them a great deal of Good.

This Action put an End to our Purſuit of the Canoe, with the other *Savages*, who were now gotten almoſt out of Sight; and it was happy for us that we did not; for it blew ſo hard within two Hours after, and before they could be gotten a Quarter of their Way, and continued blowing ſo hard all Night, and that from the *North Weſt*, which was againſt them, that I could not ſuppoſe

their

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their Boat could live, or that they ever reach'd to their own Coaſt.

But to return to *Friday*; he was ſo buſy about his Father, that I could not find in my Heart to take him off for ſome Time: But after I thought he could leave him a little, I call'd him to me; and he came jumping and laughing, and pleas'd to the higheſt Extream; then I aſk'd him, If he had given his Father any Bread? He ſhook his Head, and ſaid, *None: Ugly Dog eat all up ſelf*; ſo I gave him a Cake of Bread out of a little Pouch I carry'd on Purpoſe; I alſo gave him a Dram for himſelf, but he would not taſte it, but carry'd it to his Father: I had in my Pocket alſo two or three Bunches of my Raiſins, ſo I gave him a Handful of them for his Father. He had no ſooner given his Father theſe Raiſins, but I ſaw him come out of the Boat, and run away, as if he had been bewitch'd, he run at ſuch a Rate; for he was the ſwifteſt Fellow of his Foot that ever I ſaw; I ſay, he run at ſuch a Rate, that he was out of Sight, as it were, in an Inſtant; and though I call'd and hollow'd too after him, it was all one, away he went, and in a Quarter of an Hour, I ſaw him come back again, though not ſo faſt as he went; and as he came nearer, I found his Pace was ſlacker, becauſe he had ſomething in his Hand.

When he came up to me, I found he had been quite Home for an Earthen Jugg, or Pot, to bring his Father ſome freſh Water, and that he had got two more Cakes or Loaves of Bread: The Bread he gave me, but the Water he carry'd to his Father: However, as I was very thirſty too, I took a little Sup of it. This Water reviv'd his Father more than all the Rum or Spirits I had given him; for he was juſt fainting with Thirſt.

When

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When his Father had drank, I call'd to him to know if there was any Water left; he ſaid, Yes; and I bad him give it to the poor *Spaniard*, who was in as much Want of it as his Father; and I ſent one of the Cakes, that *Friday* brought, to the *Spaniard* too, who was indeed very weak, and was repoſing himſelf upon a green Place, under the Shade of a Tree, and whoſe Limbs were alſo very ſtiff, and very much ſwell'd with the rude Bandage he had been ty'd with. When I ſaw that upon *Friday*'s coming to him with the Water, he ſat up and drank, and took the Bread, and began to eat, I went to him, and gave him a Handful of Raiſins; he look'd up in my Face with all the Tokens of Gratitude and Thankfulneſs that could appear in any Countenance; but was ſo weak, notwithſtanding he had ſo exerted himſelf in the Fight, that he could not ſtand up upon his Feet; he try'd to do it two or three Times, but was really not able, his Ankles were ſo ſwell'd and ſo painful to him; ſo I bad him ſit ſtill, and cauſed *Friday* to rub his Ankles, and bathe them with Rum, as he had done his Father's.

I obſerv'd the poor affectionate Creature every two Minutes, or perhaps leſs, all the while he was here, turn'd his Head about, to ſee if his Father was in the ſame Place and Poſture as he left him ſitting; and at laſt he found he was not to be ſeen; at which he ſtarted up, and without ſpeaking a Word, flew with that Swiftneſs to him, that one could ſcarce perceive his Feet to touch the Ground, as he went: But when he came, he only found he had laid himſelf down to eaſe his Limbs; ſo *Friday* came back to me preſently; and I then ſpoke to the *Spaniard* to let *Friday* help him up if he could, and lead him to the Boat, and then he ſhould carry him to our Dwelling, where

I would

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I would take Care of him: But *Friday*, a lusty strong Fellow, took the *Spaniard* quite up upon his Back, and carry'd him away to the Boat, and set him down softly upon the Side or Gunnel of the Canoe, with his Feet in the Inside of it, and then lifted him quite in, and set him close to his Father, and presently stepping out again, launched the Boat off, and paddled it along the Shore faster than I could walk, tho' the Wind blew pretty hard too; so he brought them both safe into our Creek; and leaving them in the Boat, runs away to fetch the other Canoe. As he pass'd me, I spoke to him, and ask'd him, whither he went, he told me, *Go fetch more Boat*; so away he went, like the Wind; for sure never Man or Horse run like him; and he had the other Canoe in the Creek, almost as soon as I got to it by Land; so he wafted me over, and then went to help our new Guests out of the Boat, which he did; but they were neither of them able to walk; so that poor *Friday* knew not what to do.

To remedy this, I went to work in my Thought, and calling to *Friday* to bid them sit down on the Bank while he came to me, I soon made a Kind of Hand-Barrow to lay them on, and *Friday* and I carry'd them up both together upon it between us: But when we got them to the Outside of our Wall, or Fortification, we were at a worse Loss than before; for it was impossible to get them over; and I was resolv'd not to break it down: So I set to Work again; and *Friday* and I, in about two Hours Time, made a very handsome Tent, cover'd with old Sails, and above that with Boughs of Trees, being in the Space without our outward Fence, and between that and the Grove of young Wood which I had planted: And here we made them two Beds of such Things as I had (*viz.*) of good Rice-Straw,

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Straw, with Blankets laid upon it to lye on, and another to cover them on each Bed.

My Island was now peopled, and I thought my self very rich in Subjects; and it was a merry Reflection which I frequently made, How like a King I look'd. First of all, the whole Country was my own meer Property; so that I had an undoubted Right of Dominion. 2*dly*, My People were perfectly subjected: I was absolute Lord and Lawgiver; they all ow'd their Lives to me, and were ready to lay down their Lives, *if there had been Occasion of it*, for me. It was remakable too, we had but three Subjects, and they were of three different Religions. My Man *Friday* was a Protestant, his Father was a *Pagan* and a *Cannibal*, and the *Spaniard* was a Papist: However, I allow'd Liberty of Conscience throughout my Dominions: But this is by the Way.

As soon as I had secur'd my two weak rescued Prisoners, and given them Shelter, and a Place to rest them upon, I began to think of making some Provision for them: And the first Thing I did, I order'd *Friday* to take a yearling Goat, betwixt a Kid and a Goat, out of my particular Flock, to be kill'd: When I cut off the hinder Quarter, and chopping it into small Pieces, I set *Friday* to Work, to boiling and stewing, and made them a very good Dish, I assure you, of Flesh and Broth, having put some Barley and Rice also into the Broth; and as I cook'd it without Doors, for I made no Fire within my inner Wall, so I carry'd it all into the new Tent; and having set a Table there for them, I sat down and eat my own Dinner also with them, and, as well as I could, chear'd them and encourag'd them: *Friday* being my Interpreter, especially to his Father, and, indeed, to the

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Spaniard too; for the *Spaniard* ſpoke the Language of the *Savages* pretty well.

After we had dined, or rather ſupped, I order'd *Friday* to take one of the Canoes, and go and fetch our Muſkets and other Fire-Arms, which for Want of Time we had left upon the Place of Battle; and the next Day I order'd him to go and bury the dead Bodies of the Savages, which lay open to the Sun, and would preſently be offenſive; and I alſo order'd him to bury the horrid Remains of their barbarous Feaſt, which I knew were pretty much, and which I could not think of doing my ſelf; nay, I could not bear to ſee them, if I went that Way: All which he punctually perform'd, and defac'd the very Appearance of the *Savages* being there; ſo that when I went again, I could ſcarce know where it was, otherwiſe than by the Corner of the Wood pointing to the Place.

I then began to enter into a little Converſation with my two new Subjects; and firſt I ſet *Friday* to enquire of his Father, what he thought of the Eſcape of the *Savages* in that Canoe, and whether we might expect a Return of them with a Power too great for us to reſiſt: His firſt Opinion was, that the *Savages* in the Boat never could live out the Storm which blew that Night they went off, but muſt of Neceſſity be drown'd or driven *South* to thoſe other Shores, where they were as ſure to be devour'd as they were to be drown'd if they were caſt away; but as to what they would do if they came ſafe on Shore, he ſaid he knew not; but it was his Opinion that they were ſo dreadfully frighted with the Manner of their being attack'd, the Noiſe and the Fire, that he believ'd they would tell their People, they were all kill'd by Thunder and Lightning, not by the Hand of Man, and that the two which appear'd, *(viz.) Friday* and me, were two Heavenly Spirits

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Spirits or Furies, come down to deſtroy them. and not Men with Weapons: This he ſaid he knew, becauſe he heard them all cry out ſo in their Language to one another; for it was impoſſible to them to conceive that a Man could dart Fire, and ſpeak Thunder, and kill at a Diſtance without lifting up the Hand, as was done now: And this old Savage was in the right; for, as I underſtood ſince by others Hands, the Savages never attempted to go over to the Iſland afterwards; they were ſo terrified with the Accounts given by thoſe four Men, (for it ſeems they did eſcape the Sea) that they believ'd whoever went to that enchanted Iſland would be deſtroy'd with Fire from the Gods.

This however I knew not, and therefore was under continual Apprehenſions for a good while, and kept always upon my Guard, me and all my Army; for as we were now four of us, I would have ventur'd upon a hundred of them fairly in the open Field at any Time.

In a little Time, however, no more Canoes appearing, the Fear of their Coming wore off, and I began to take my former Thoughts of a Voyage to the Main into Conſideration, being likewiſe aſſur'd by *Friday*'s Father, that I might depend upon good Uſage from their Nation on his Account, if I would go.

But my Thoughts were a little ſuſpended, when I had a ſerious Diſcourſe with the *Spaniard*, and when I underſtood that there were ſixteen more of his Countrymen and *Portugueſe*, who having been caſt away, and made their Eſcape to that Side, liv'd there at Peace indeed with the Savages, but were very ſore put to it for Neceſſaries, and indeed for Life: I aſk'd him all the Particulars of their Voyage, and found they were a *Spaniſh* Ship bound from the *Rio de la Plata*

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to the *Havana*, being directed to leave their Loading there, which was chiefly Hides and Silver, and to bring back what *European* Goods they could meet with there; that they had five *Portuguese* Seamen on Board, who they took out of another Wreck; that five of their own Men were drowned when first the Ship was loft, and that these escaped thro' infinite Dangers and Hazards, and arriv'd almost starv'd, on the *Cannibal* Coast, where they expected to have been devour'd every Moment.

He told me, they had some Arms with them, but they were perfectly useless for that they had neither Powder or Ball, the Washing of the Sea having spoil'd all their Powder, but a little, which they used at their first Landing to provide themselves some Food.

I ask'd him what he thought would become of them there, and if they had form'd no Design of making any Escape? He said, They had many Consultations about it, but that having neither Vessel, or Tools to build one, or Provisions of any Kind, their Counsels always ended in Tears and Despair.

I ask'd him how he thought they would receive a Proposal from me, which might tend towards an Escape: And whether, if they were all here, it might not be done? I told him with Freedom, I fear'd mostly their Treachery and ill Usage of me, if I put my Life in their Hands; for that Gratitude was no inherent Virtue in the Nature of Man; nor did Men always square their Dealings by the Obligations they had receiv'd, so much as they did by the Advantages they expected. I told him, it would be very hard, that I should be the Instrument of their Deliverance, and that they should afterwards make me their Prisoner in *New Spain*, where an *Englishman* was certain to be made a Sacri-

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fice, what Neceſſity, or what Accident ſoever brought him thither: And that I had rather be deliver'd up to the *Savages*, and be devour'd alive, than fall into the mercileſs Claws of the Prieſts, and be carry'd into the *Inquiſition*. I added, That otherwiſe I was perſwaded, if they were all here, we might, with ſo many Hands, build a Bark large enough to carry us all away, either to the *Braſils* Southward, or to the Iſlands or *Spaniſh* Coaſt Northward: But that if in Requital they ſhould, when I had put Weapons into their Hands, carry me by Force among their own People, I might be ill uſed for my Kindneſs to them, and make my Caſe worſe than it was before.

He anſwer'd with a great deal of Candor and Ingenuity, That their Condition was ſo miſerable, and they were ſo ſenſible of it, that he believed they would abhor the Thought of uſing any Man unkindly that ſhould contribute to their Deliverance; and that, if I pleaſed, he would go to them with the old Man, and diſcourſe with them about it, and return again, and bring me their Anſwer: That he would make Conditions with them upon their ſolemn Oath, That they ſhould be abſolutely under my Leading, as their Commander and Captain; and that they ſhould ſwear upon the Holy Sacraments and the Goſpel, to be true to me, and to go to ſuch Chriſtian Country as that I ſhould agree to, and no other; and to be directed wholly and abſolutely by my Orders, 'till they were landed ſafely in ſuch Country as I intended; and that he would bring a Contract from them under their Hands for that Purpoſe.

Then he told me, he would firſt ſwear to me himſelf, That he would never ſtir from me as long as he liv'd, 'till I gave him Orders; and that he would take my Side to the laſt Drop of his Blood, if

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if there ſhould happen the leaſt Breach of Faith among his Countrymen.

He told me, they were all of them very civil honeſt Men, and they were under the greateſt Diſtreſs imaginable, having neither Weapons or Cloaths, nor any Food, but at the Mercy and Diſcretion of the *Savages*; out of all Hopes of ever returning to their own Country; and that he was ſure, if I would undertake their Relief, they would live and die by me.

Upon theſe Aſſurances, I reſolv'd to venture to relieve them, if poſſible, and to ſend the old *Savage* and this *Spaniard* over to them to treat: But when we had gotten all Things in a Readineſs to go, the *Spaniard* himſelf ſtarted an Objection, which had ſo much Prudence in it on one hand, and ſo much Sincerity on the other hand, that I could not but be very well ſatisfy'd in it; and, by his Advice, put off the Deliverance of his Comrades for at leaſt half a Year. The Caſe was thus:

He had been with us now about a Month; during which Time I had let him ſee in what Manner I had provided, with the Aſſiſtance of Providence, for my Support; and he ſaw evidently what Stock of Corn and Rice I had laid up; which, as it was more than ſufficient for my ſelf, ſo it was not ſufficient, at leaſt without good Huſbandry, for my Family, now it was encreas'd to Number four: But much leſs would it be ſufficient, if his Countrymen, who were, as he ſaid, fourteen ſtill alive, ſhould come over; and leaſt of all would it be ſufficient to victual our Veſſel, if we ſhould build one, for a Voyage to any of the Chriſtian Colonies of *America*. So he told me, he thought it would be more adviſable, to let him and the two other dig and cultivate ſome more Land, as much as I could ſpare Seed to ſow; and that we

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ſhould wait another Harveſt, that we might have a Supply of Corn for his Country-men when they ſhould come; for Want might be a Temptation to them to diſagree, or not to think themſelves deliver'd, otherwiſe than out of one Difficulty into another. You know, ſays he, the Children of *Iſrael*, though they rejoyc'd at firſt for their being deliver'd out of *Egypt*, yet rebell'd even againſt God himſelf that deliver'd them, when they came to want Bread in the Wilderneſs.

His Caution was ſo ſeaſonable, and his Advice ſo good, that I could not but be very well pleas'd with his Propoſal, as well as I was ſatisfy'd with his Fidelity. So we fell to digging all four of us, as well as the wooden Tools we were furniſh'd with permitted; and in about a Month's Time, by the End of which it was Seed-Time, we had gotten as much Land cur'd and trimm'd up, as we ſow'd 22 Buſhels of Barley on, and 16 Jarrs of Rice, which was, in ſhort, all the Seed we had to ſpare; nor indeed did we leave ourſelves Barley ſufficient for our own Food, for the ſix Months that we had to expect our Crop, that is to ſay, reckoning from the Time we ſet our Seed aſide for ſowing; for it is not to be ſuppos'd it is ſix Months in the Ground in the Country.

Having now Society enough, and our Number being ſufficient to put us out of Fear of the *Savages*, if they had come, unleſs their Number had been very great, we went freely all over the Iſland, where-ever we found Occaſion; and as here we had our Eſcape or Deliverance upon our Thoughts, it was impoſſible, at leaſt for me, to have the Means of it out of mine; to this Purpoſe, I mark'd out ſeveral Trees which I thought fit for our Work, and I ſet *Friday* and his Father to cutting them down; and then I caus'd the *Spaniard*, to

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to whom I imparted my Thought on that Affair, to overſee and direct their Work. I ſhew'd them with what indefatigable Pains I had hew'd a large Tree into ſingle Planks, and I caus'd them to do the like, till they had made about a Dozen large Planks of good Oak, near 2 Foot broad, 35 Foot long, and from 2 Inches to 4 Inches thick: What prodigious Labour it took up, any one may imagine.

At the ſame Time I contriv'd to increaſe my little Flock of tame Goats as much as I could; and to this Purpoſe I made *Friday* and the *Spaniard* go out one Day, and myſelf, with *Friday*, the next Day; for we took our Turns: And by this Means we got above 20 young Kids to breed up with the reſt; for when-ever we ſhot the Dam, we ſav'd the Kids and added them to our Flock: But above all, the Seaſon for curing the Grapes coming on, I caus'd ſuch a prodigious Quantity to be hung up in the Sun, that I believe, had we been at *Alicant*, where the Raiſins of the Sun are cured, we could have fill'd 60 or 80 Barrels; and theſe, with our Bread, was a great Part of our Food, and very good living too, I aſſure you; for it is an exceeding nouriſhing Food.

It was now Harveſt, and our Crop in good Order; it was not the moſt plentiful Encreaſe I had ſeen in the Iſland, but however it was enough to anſwer our End; for from our 22 Buſhels of Barley, we brought in and threſh'd out above 220 Buſhels; and the like in Proportion of the Rice, which was Store enough for our Food to the next Harveſt, tho' all the 16 *Spaniards* had been on Shore with me; or if we had been ready for a Voyage, it would very plentifully have victuall'd our Ship, to have carry'd us to any Part of the World, that is to ſay, of *America*.

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When we had thus hous'd and ſecur'd our Magazine of Corn, we fell to work to make more Wicker Work, *viz.* great Baſkets in which we kept it; and the *Spaniard* was very handy and dexterous at this Part, and often blam'd me that I did not make ſome Things for Defence, of this Kind of Work; but I ſaw no Need of it.

And now having a full Supply of Food for all the Gueſts I expected, I gave the *Spaniard* Leave to go over to the Main, to ſee what he could do with thoſe he had left behind him there. I gave him a ſtrict Charge in Writing, not to bring any Man with him, who would not firſt ſwear in the Preſence of himſelf and of the old Savage, That he would no Way injure, fight with, or attack the Perſon he ſhould find in the Iſland, who was ſo kind to ſend for them in order to their Deliverance; but that they would ſtand by and defend him againſt all ſuch Attempts, and where-ever they went, would be entirely under and ſubjected to his Commands; and that this ſhould be put in Writing, and ſign'd with their Hands: How we were to have this done, when I knew they had neither Pen or Ink, that, indeed, was a Queſtion which we never aſk'd.

Under theſe Inſtructions, the *Spaniard*, and the old Savage (the Father of *Friday*) went away in one of the Canoes, which they might be ſaid to come in, or rather were brought in, when they came as Priſoners to be devour'd by the Savages.

I gave each of them a Muſket with a Firelock on it, and about eight Charges of Powder and Ball, charging them to be very good Huſbands of both, and not to uſe either of them but upon urgent Occaſion.

This was a chearful Work, being the firſt Meaſures uſed by me in View of my Deliverance, for now

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now 27 Years and ſome Days. I gave them Proviſions of Bread, and of dry Grapes, ſufficient for themſelves for many Days, and ſufficient for all their Country-men for about eight Days Time; and wiſhing them a good Voyage, I ſee them go, agreeing with them about a Signal they ſhould hang out at their Return, by which I ſhould know them again, when they came back, at a Diſtance, before they came on Shore.

They went away with a fair Gale on the Day that the Moon was at Full; by my Account in the Month of *October*; but as for an exact Reckoning of Days, after I had once loſt it, I could never recover it again; nor had I kept even the Number of Years ſo punctually, as to be ſure that I was right, tho', as it prov'd, when I afterwards examin'd my Account, I found I had kept a true Reckoning of Years.

It was no leſs than eight Days I had waited for them, when a ſtrange and unforeſeen Accident interven'd, of which the like has not, perhaps, been heard of in Hiſtory. I was faſt aſleep in my Hutch one Morning, when my Man *Friday* came running in to me, and call'd aloud, *Maſter, Maſter, they are come, they are come.*

I jump'd up, and, regardleſs of Danger, I went out as ſoon as I could get my Cloaths on, thro' my little Grove, which (by the Way) was by this Time grown to be a very thick Wood: I ſay, regardleſs of Danger, I went without my Arms, which was not my Cuſtom to do; but I was ſurpriz'd, when turning my Eyes to the Sea, I preſently ſaw a Boat at about a League and Half's Diſtance, ſtanding in for the Shore, with a *Shoulder of Mutton Sail*, as they call it, and the Wind blowing pretty fair to bring them in; alſo I obſerv'd preſently, that they did not come from that Side which the Shore lay on, but from the Souther-

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moſt End of the Iſland: Upon this I call'd *Friday* in, and bid him lie cloſe, for theſe were not the People we look'd for, and that we might not know yet whether they were Friends or Enemies.

In the next Place, I went in to fetch my Perſpective-Glaſs, to ſee what I could make of them; and having taken the Ladder out, I climb'd up to the Top of the Hill, as I uſed to do when I was apprehenſive of any Thing, and to take my View the plainer without being diſcover'd.

I had ſcarce ſet my Foot on the Hill, when my Eye plainly diſcover'd a Ship lying at an Anchor, at about two Leagues and an half's Diſtance from me South-ſouth-eaſt, but not above a League and an half from the Shore. By my Obſervation it appear'd plainly to be an *Engliſh* Ship, and the Boat appear'd to be an *Engliſh* Long-Boat.

I cannot expreſs the Confuſion I was in, tho' the Joy of ſeeing a Ship, and one who I had Reaſon to believe was mann'd by my own Country-men, and conſequently Friends, was ſuch as I cannot deſcribe; but yet I had ſome ſecret Doubts hung about me, I cannot tell from whence they came, bidding me keep upon my Guard. In the firſt Place, it occurr'd to me to conſider what Buſineſs an *Engliſh* Ship could have in that Part of the World, ſince it was not the Way to or from any Part of the World, where the *Engliſh* had any Traffick; and I knew there had been no Storms to drive them in there, as in Diſtreſs; and that if they were *Engliſh* really, it was moſt probable that they were here upon no good Deſign; and that I had better continue as I was, than fall into the Hands of Thieves and Murderers.

Let no Man deſpiſe the ſecret Hints and Notices of Danger which ſometimes are given him, when he may think there is no Poſſibility of its being

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ing real. That ſuch Hints and Notices are given us, I believe few that have made any Obſervations of Things can deny; that they are certain Diſcoveries of an inviſible World, and a Converſe of Spirits, we cannot doubt; and if the Tendency of them ſeems to be to warn us of Danger, why ſhould we not ſuppoſe they are from ſome friendly Agent, (whether ſupreme, or inferior and ſubordinate, is not the Queſtion) and that they are given for our Good?

The preſent Queſtion abundantly confirms me in the Juſtice of this Reaſoning; for had I not been made cautious by this ſecret Admonition, come it from whence it will, I had been undone inevitably, and in a far worſe Condition than before, as you will ſee preſently.

I had not kept my ſelf long in this Poſture, but I ſaw the Boat draw near the Shore, as if they look'd for a Creek to thruſt in at for the Convenience of Landing; however, as they did not come quite far enough, they did not ſee the little Inlet where I formerly landed my Rafts; but run their Boat on Shore upon the Beach, at about half a Mile from me, which was very happy for me; for otherwiſe they would have landed juſt, as I may ſay, at my Door, and would ſoon have beaten me out of my Caſtle, and, perhaps, have plunder'd me of all I had.

When they were on Shore, I was fully ſatisfy'd that they were *Engliſh* Men; at leaſt moſt of them, one or two I thought were *Dutch*; but it did not prove ſo: There were in all eleven Men, whereof three of them I found were unarm'd, and, as I thought, bound; and when the firſt four or five of them were jump'd on Shore, they took thoſe three out of the Boat as Priſoners: One of the three I could perceive uſing the moſt paſſionate Geſtures of Entreaty,

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Intreaty, Affliction and Deſpair, even to a kind of Extravagance; the other two, I could perceive, lifted up their Hands ſometimes, and appear'd concern'd indeed, but not to ſuch a Degree as the firſt.

I was perfectly confounded at the Sight, and knew not what the Meaning of it ſhould be. *Friday* call'd out to me in *Engliſh*, as well as he could, *O Maſter! You ſee* Engliſh *Mans eat Priſoner as well as* Savage *Mans.* Why, ſays I, *Friday*, do you think they are a going to eat them then? *Yes*, ſays Friday, *They will eat them:* No, no, ſays I, *Friday*, I am afraid they will murder them, indeed, but you may be ſure they will not eat them.

All this while I had no Thought of what the Matter really was; but ſtood trembling with the Horror of the Sight, expecting every Moment when the three Priſoners ſhould be kill'd; nay, once I ſaw one of the Villains lift up his Arm with a great Cutlaſh, (as the Seamen call it) or Sword, to ſtrike one of the poor Men; and I expected to ſee him fall every Moment, at which all the Blood in my Body ſeem'd to run chill in my Veins.

I wiſh'd heartily now for my *Spaniard*, and the Savage that was gone with him; or that I had any Way to have come undiſcover'd within Shot of them, that I might have reſcu'd the three Men; for I ſaw no Fire-Arms they had among them; but it fell out to my Mind another Way.

After I had obſerv'd the outragious Uſage of the three Men by the inſolent Seamen, I obſerv'd the Fellows run ſcattering about the Land, as if they wanted to ſee the Country: I obſerv'd that the three other Men had Liberty to go alſo where they pleas'd; but they ſate down all three upon the Ground very penſive, and look'd like Men in Deſpair.

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This put me in Mind of the first Time when I came on Shore, and began to look about me; how I gave my self over for lost, how wildly I look'd round me, what dreadful Apprensions I had, and how I lodg'd in the Tree all Night for fear of being devour'd by wild Beasts.

As I knew nothing that Night of the Supply I was to receive by the providential Driving of the Ship nearer the Land, by the Storms and Tide, by which I have since been so long nourish'd and supported; so these three poor desolate Men knew nothing how certain of Deliverance and Supply they were, how near it was to them, and how effectually and really they were in a Condition of Safety, at the same Time that they thought themselves lost, and their Case desperate.

So little do we see before us in the World, and so much Reason have we to depend chearfully upon the great Maker of the World, that he does not leave his Creatures so absolutely destitute, but that in the worst Circumstances they have always something to be thankful for, and sometimes are nearer their Deliverance than they imagine; nay, are even brought to their Deliverance by the Means by which they seem to be brought to their Destruction.

It was just at the Top of High-Water when these People came on Shore, and while partly they stood parlying with the Prisoners they brought, and partly while they rambled about to see what kind of a Place they were in, they had carelessly staid till the Tide was spent, and the Water was ebb'd considerably away, leaving their Boat a-ground.

They had left two Men in the Boat, who as I found afterwards, having drank a little too much Brandy, fell a-sleep; however, one of them waking sooner than the other, and finding the Boat too fast a-ground

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a-ground for him to ſtir it, hollow'd for the reſt who were ſtraggling about, upon which they all ſoon came to the Boat; but it was paſt all their Strength to launch her, the Boat being very heavy, and the Shore on that Side being a ſoft ouſy Sand, almoſt like a Quick-Sand.

In this Condition, like true Seamen, who are, perhaps, the leaſt of all Mankind given to Fore-thought, they gave it over, and away they ſtroll'd about the Country again; and I heard one of them ſay aloud to another, (calling them off from the Boat) *Why, let her alone,* Jack, *can't ye, ſhe'll float next Tide*; by which I was fully confirm'd in the main Enquiry, Of what Countrymen they were?

All this while I kept myſelf very cloſe, not once daring to ſtir out of my Caſtle, any farther than to my Place of Obſervation, near the Top of the Hill; and very glad I was, to think how well it was fortify'd: I knew it was no leſs than ten Hours before the Boat could be on float again, and by that Time it would be dark, and I might be at more Liberty to ſee their Motions, and to hear their Diſcourſe, if they had any.

In the mean Time, I fitted myſelf up for a Battle, as before; tho' with more Caution, knowing I had to do with another Kind of Enemy than I had at firſt: I order'd *Friday* alſo, who I had made an excellent Markſ-man with his Gun, to load himſelf with Arms: I took myſelf two Fowling-Pieces, and I gave him three Muſkets. My Figure, indeed, was very fierce; I had my formidable Goat-ſkin Coat on, with the great Cap I have mention'd, a naked Sword by my Side, two Piſtols in my Belt, and a Gun upon each Shoulder.

It was my Deſign, as I ſaid above, not to have made any Attempt 'till it was dark: But about two a-Clock, being the Heat of the Day, I found that

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that in short they were all gone straggling into the Woods, and, as I thought, were laid down to Sleep. The three poor distressed Men, too anxious for their Condition to get any Sleep, were, however, set down under the Shelter of a great Tree, at about a quarter of a Mile from me, and, as I thought, out of Sight of any of the rest.

Upon this I resolv'd to discover my self to them, and learn something of their Condition: Immediately I march'd in the Figure as above, my Man *Friday* at a good Distance behind me, as formidable for his Arms as I, but not making quite so staring a *Spectre-like* Figure as I did.

I came as near them undiscover'd as I could, and then before any of them saw me, I call'd aloud to them in *Spanish*, *What are ye Gentlemen?*

They started up at the Noise, but were ten times more confounded when they saw me, and the uncouth Figure that I made. They made no Answer at all; but I thought I perceiv'd them just going to fly from me, when I spoke to them in *English*: Gentlemen, said I, do not be surpriz'd at me; perhaps you may have a Friend near you when you did not expect it. He must be sent directly from Heaven then, *said one of them very gravely to me, and pulling off his Hat at the same Time to me*, for our Condition is past the Help of Man. All Help is from Heaven, Sir, said I. But can you put a Stranger in the Way how to help you, for you seem to me to be in some great Distress? I saw you when you landed, and when you seem'd to make Application to the Brutes that came with you, I saw one of them lift up his Sword to kill you.

The poor Man, with Tears running down his Face, and trembling, looking like one astonish'd, return'd, *Am I talking to God, or Man? Is it a real Man*

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Man, or an Angel! Be in no fear about that, Sir, *ſaid I*, if God had ſent an Angel to relieve you, he would have come better cloath'd, and arm'd after another Manner than you ſee me in; pray lay aſide your Fears, I am a Man, an *Engliſhman*, and diſpos'd to aſſiſt you, you ſee; I have one Servant only; we have Arms and Ammunition; tell us freely, Can we ſerve you? —— What is your Caſe?

Our Caſe, ſaid he, Sir, is too long to tell you, while our Murderers are ſo near; but, in ſhort, Sir, I was Commander of that Ship, my Men have mutiny'd againſt me, they have been hardly prevail'd on not to murder me, and at laſt have ſet me on Shore in this deſolate Place, with theſe two Men with me, one my Mate, the other a Paſſenger, where we expected to periſh, believing the Place to be uninhabited, and know not yet what to think of it.

Where are thoſe Brutes, your Enemies, ſaid I; Do you know where they are gone? *There they lye*, Sir, ſaid he, pointing to a Thicket of Trees, *my Heart trembles for fear they have ſeen us, and heard you ſpeak; if they have, they will certainly murder us all.*

Have they any Fire-Arms, ſaid I? He anſwer'd, they had only two Pieces, and one which they left in the Boat. Well then, ſaid I, leave the reſt to me; I ſee they are all aſleep, it is an eaſy thing to kill them all; but ſhall we rather take them Priſoners? He told me, there were two deſperate Villains among them that it was ſcarce ſafe to ſhew any Mercy to; but if they were ſecur'd, he believ'd all the reſt would return to their Duty. I aſk'd him, which they were? He told me, he could not at that Diſtance deſcribe them; but he would obey my Orders in any thing

I would

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I would direct. Well, says I, let us retreat out of their View or Hearing, least they awake, and we will resolve farther; so they willingly went back with me, till the Woods cover'd us from them.

Look you, Sir, said I, if I venture upon your Deliverance, are you willing to make two Conditions with me; he anticipated my Proposals, by telling me, that both he and the Ship, if recover'd, should be wholly directed and commanded by me in every thing; and if the Ship was not recover'd, he would live and die with me in what Part of the World soever I would send him; and the two other Men said the same.

Well, says I, *my Conditions are but two.* 1. That while you stay on this Island with me, you will not pretend to any Authority here; and if I put Arms into your Hands, you will upon all Occasions give them up to me, and do no Prejudice to me or mine, upon this Island, and in the mean time be govern'd by my Orders.

2. That if the Ship is, or may be recover'd, you will carry me and my Man to *England* Passage-free.

He gave me all the Assurances that the Invention and Faith of Man could devise, that he would comply with these most reasonable Demands, and besides would owe his Life to me, and acknowledge it upon all Occasions as long as he liv'd.

Well then, said I, here are three Muskets for you, with Powder and Ball; tell me next what you think is proper to be done. He shewed all the Testimony of his Gratitude that he was able; but offer'd to be wholly guided by me. I told him, I thought it was hard venturing any Thing; but the best Method I could think of was to fire upon them at once, as they lay; and if any was not kill'd at the first Volley, and offered to submit,

we

we might ſave them, and ſo put it wholly upon God's Providence to direct the Shot.

He ſaid very modeſtly, That he was loth to kill them, if he could help it; but that thoſe two were incorrigible Villains, and had been the Authors of all the Mutiny in the Ship, and if they eſcaped, we ſhould be undone ſtill; for they would go on Board, and bring the whole Ship's Company, and deſtroy us all. *Well then*, ſays I, *Neceſſity legitimates my Advice; for it is the only Way to ſave our Lives.* However, ſeeing him ſtill cautious of ſhedding Blood, I told him they ſhould go themſelves, and manage as they found convenient.

In the Middle of this Diſcourſe we heard ſome of them awake, and ſoon after we ſaw two of them on their Feet. I aſk'd him, if either of them were the Men who he had ſaid were the Heads of the Mutiny? He ſaid, *No*: Well then, ſaid I, you may let them eſcape, and Providence ſeems to have waken'd them on Purpoſe to ſave themſelves. Now, ſays I, if the reſt eſcape you, *it is your Fault.*

Animated with this, he took the Muſket I had given him in his Hand, and a Piſtol in his Belt, and his two Comrades with him, with each Man a Piece in his Hand. The two Men who were with him going firſt, made ſome Noiſe, at which one of the Seamen, who was awake, turn'd about, and ſeeing them coming, cry'd out to the reſt; but it was too late then; for the Moment he cry'd out, they fir'd; *I mean the two Men*, the Captain wiſely reſerving his own Piece. They had ſo well aim'd their Shot at the Men they knew, that one of them was kill'd on the Spot, and the other very much wounded; but not being dead, he ſtarted up upon his Feet, and call'd eagerly for

Help,

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help to the other; but the Captain ſtepping to him, told him, 'twas too late to cry for Help, he ſhould call upon God to forgive his Villany, and with that Work knock'd him down with the Stock of his Muſket; ſo that he never ſpoke more: There were three more in the Company, and one of them was alſo ſlightly wounded: By this Time I was come; and, when they ſaw their Danger, and that it was in vain to reſiſt, they begg'd for Mercy: The Captain told them, he would ſpare their Lives, if they would give him any Aſſurance of their Abhorrence of the Treachery they had been guilty of, and would ſwear to be faithful to him in recovering the Ship, and afterwards in carrying her back to *Jamaica*, from whence they came: They gave him all the Proteſtations of their Sincerity that could be deſir'd, and he was willing to believe them, and ſpare their Lives, which I was not againſt; only I oblig'd him to keep them bound Hand and Foot while they were upon the Iſland.

While this was doing, I ſent *Friday* with the Captain's Mate to the Boat, with Orders to ſecure her, and bring away the Oars and Sail, which they did; and by and by, three ſtraggling Men that were (happily for them) parted from the reſt, came back upon hearing the Guns fir'd, and ſeeing their Captain, who before was their Priſoner, now their Conqueror, they ſubmitted to be bound alſo, and ſo our Victory was compleat.

It now remain'd, that the Captain and I ſhould enquire into one another's Circumſtances: I began firſt, and told him my whole Hiſtory, which he heard with an Attention even to Amazement, and particularly at the wonderful Manner of my being furniſh'd with Proviſions and Ammunition; and, indeed, as my Story is a whole Collection of Wonders, it affected him deeply; but when he reflected

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from thence upon himself, and how I seem'd to have been preserv'd there on purpose to save his Life, the Tears ran down his Face, and he could not speak a Word more.

After this Communication was at an End, I carry'd him and his two Men into my Apartment, leading them in just where I came out, *viz.* at the Top of the House, where I refresh'd them with such Provisions as I had, and shew'd them all the Contrivances I had made, during my long, long, inhabiting that Place.

All I shew'd them, all I said to them, was perfectly amazing; but above all, the Captain admir'd my Fortification, and how perfectly I had conceal'd my Retreat with a Grove of Trees, which having been now planted near twenty Years, and the Trees growing much faster than in *England*, was become a little Wood, and so thick, that it was unpassable in any Part of it, but at that one Side, where I had reserv'd my little winding Passage into it: I told him, this was my Castle, and my Residence; but that I had a Seat in the Country, as most Princes have, whither I could retreat upon Occasion, and I would shew him that too another Time; but at present our Business was to consider how to recover the Ship: He agreed with me as to that, but told me, he was perfectly at a Loss what Measures to take; for that there were still six and twenty Hands on Board, who having enter'd into a cursed Conspiracy, by which they had all forfeited their Lives to the Law, would be harden'd in it now by Desperation; and would carry it on, knowing that if they were reduc'd, they should be brought to the Gallows as soon as they came to *England*, or to any of the *English* Colonies; and that therefore there would be no attacking them with so small a Number as we were.

I mused

I mused for some Time upon what he had said, and found it was a very rational Conclusion; and that therefore something was to be resolv'd on very speedily, as well to draw the Men on Board into some Snare for their Surprize, as to prevent their Landing upon us, and destroying us; upon this it presently occur'd to me, that in a little while, the Ship's Crew wondering what was become of their Comrades and of the Boat, would certainly come on Shore in their other Boat, to see for them, and that then, perhaps, they might come arm'd, and be too strong for us: This he allow'd was rational.

Upon this I told him, the first Thing we had to do, was to stave the Boat, which lay upon the Beach, so that they might not carry her off; and taking every thing out of her, leave her so far useless as not to be fit to swim; accordingly we went on Board, took the Arms which were left on Board, out of her, and whatever else we found there, which was a Bottle of Brandy, and another of Rum, a few Biskat-Cakes, a Horn of Powder, and a great Lump of Sugar, in a Piece of Canvas; the Sugar was five or six Pounds; all which was very welcome to me, especially the Brandy and Sugar, of which I had had none left for many Years.

When we had carry'd all these Things on Shore, (the Oars, Mast, Sail, and Rudder of the Boat, were carry'd away before, as above) we knock'd a great Hole in the Bottom, that if they had come strong enough to master us, yet they could not carry off the Boat.

Indeed, it was not much in my Thoughts, that we could be able to recover the Ship; but my View was, that if they went away without the Boat, I did not much question to make her fit again, to carry us away to the *Leeward Islands*, and call upon our

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Friends the *Spaniards*, in my Way, for I had them ſtill in my Thoughts.

While we were thus preparing our Deſigns, and had firſt, by main Strength, heav'd the Boat up upon the Beach, ſo high that the Tide would not fleet her off at High-Water-Mark, and, beſides, had broke a Hole in her Bottom, too big to be quickly ſtopp'd, and were ſat down muſing what we ſhould do, we heard the Ship fire a Gun, and ſaw her make a Waft with her Antient, as a Signal for the Boat to come on Board; but no Boat ſtirr'd; and they fir'd ſeveral times, making other Signals for the Boat.

At laſt, when all their Signals and Firings prov'd fruitleſs, and they found the Boat did not ſtir, we ſaw them, by the Help of my Glaſſes, hoiſt another Boat out, and row towards the Shore; and we found as they approach'd, that there was no leſs than ten Men in her, and that they had Fire-Arms with them.

As the Ship lay almoſt two Leagues from *the* Shore, we had a full View of them as they came, and a plain Sight of the Men, even of their Faces, becauſe the Tide having ſet them a little to the *Eaſt* of the other Boat, they row'd up under Shore, to come to the ſame Place, where the other had landed, and where the Boat lay.

By this Means, I ſay, we had a full View of them, and the Captain knew the Perſons and Characters of all the Men in the Boat; of whom he ſaid, that there were three very honeſt Fellows, who he was ſure were led into this Conſpiracy by the reſt, being over-power'd and frighted.

But that as for the Boatſwain, who it ſeems was the chief Officer among them, and all the reſt, they were as outragious as any of the Ship's Crew, and were no doubt made deſperate in their new Enter-

prize;

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prize; and terribly apprehensive he was, that they would be too powerful for us.

I smil'd at him, and told him, that Men in our Circumstances were past the Operation of Fear: That seeing almost every Condition that could be was better than that which we were suppos'd to be in, we ought to expect that the Consequence, whether Death or Life, would be sure to be a Deliverance. I ask'd him, What he thought of the Circumstances of my Life? And, whether a Deliverance were not worth venturing for? And where, Sir, said I, is your Belief of my being preserv'd here on purpose to save your Life, which elevated you a little while ago? For my Part, said I, there seems to be but one Thing amiss in all the Prospect of it: *What's that?* says he; why, said I, 'Tis that, as you say, there are three or four honest Fellows among them, which I wou'd be spar'd; had they been all of the wicked Part of the Crew, I should have thought God's Providence had singled them out to deliver them into your Hands; for depend upon it, every Man of them that comes a-shore are our own, and shall die, or live, as they behave to us.

As I spoke this with a rais'd Voice and chearful Countenance, I found it greatly encourag'd him; so we set vigorously to our Business: We had, upon the first Appearance of the Boat's coming from the Ship, consider'd of separating our Prisoners, and had indeed secur'd them effectually.

Two of them, of whom the Captain was less assur'd than ordinary, I sent with *Friday*, and one of the three (deliver'd Men) to my Cave, where they were remote enough, and out of Danger of being heard or discover'd, or of finding their Way out of the Woods, if they could have deliver'd themselves. Here they left them bound, but gave them Provisions, and promis'd them if they continued there

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quietly, to give them their Liberty in a Day or two; but that if they attempted their Escape, they should be put to Death without Mercy. They promis'd faithfully to bear their Confinement with Patience, and were very thankful that they had such good Usage as to have Provisions, and a Light left them; for *Friday* gave them Candles (such as we made our selves) for their Comfort, and they did not know but that the good Centinel over them at the Entrance.

The other Prisoners had better Usage; two of them were kept pinion'd indeed, because the Captain was not free to trust them, but the other two were taken into my Service upon their Captain's Recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us; so, with them and the three honest Men, we were seven Men well arm'd; and I made no doubt we shou'd be able to deal well enough with the Ten that were a coming, considering that the Captain had said, there were three or four honest Men among them also.

As soon as they got to the Place where their other Boat lay, they run their Boat into the Beach, and came all on Shore, haling the Boat up after them, which I was glad to see; for I was afraid they would rather have left the Boat at an Anchor, some Distance from the Shore, with some Hands in her, to guard her; and so we should not be able to seize the Boat.

Being on Shore, the first Thing they did, they ran all to the other Boat, and it was easy to see that they were under a great Surprize, to find her stripp'd as above, of all that was in her, and a great Hole in her Bottom.

After they had mus'd a while upon this, they set up two or three great Shouts, hollowing with all their Might, to try if they could make their Companions

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Companions hear; but all was to no Purpose: Then they came all close in a Ring, and fir'd a Volley of their small Arms, which indeed we heard, and the Echoes made the Woods ring; but it was all one, those in the Cave we were sure could not hear, and those in our Keeping, though they heard it well enough, yet durst give no Answer to them.

They were so astonish'd at the Surprize of this, that as they told us afterwards, they resolv'd to go all on Board again to their Ship, and let them know there, that the Men were all murder'd, and the Long-Boat stav'd; accordingly they immediately launch'd their Boat again, and got all of them on Board.

The Captain was terribly amaz'd, and even confounded at this, believing they would go on Board the Ship again and set Sail, giving their Comrades for lost, and so he should still lose the Ship, which he was in Hopes we should have recover'd; but he was quickly as much frighted the other way.

They had not been long put off with the Boat, but we perceiv'd them all coming on Shore again; but with this new Measure in their Conduct, which it seems they consulted together upon, viz. To leave three Men in the Boat, and the rest to go on Shore, and go up into the Country to look for their Fellows.

This was a great Disappointment to us; for now we were at a Loss what to do; for our seizing those seven Men on Shore would be no Advantage to us, if we let the Boat escape, because they would then row away to the Ship, and then the rest of them would be sure to weigh and set Sail, and so our recovering the Ship would be lost.

However, we had no Remedy but to wait and see what the Issue of Things might present: The seven Men came on Shore, and the three who re-

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main'd in the Boat, put her off to a good Distance from the Shore, and came to an Anchor to wait for them; so that it was impossible for us to come at them in the Boat.

Those that came on Shore, kept close together, marching towards the Top of the little Hill, under which my Habitation lay; and we could see them plainly, tho' they could not perceive us: We could have been very glad they would have come nearer to us, so that we might have fir'd at them, or that they would have gone farther off, that we might have come Abroad.

But when they were come to the Brow of the Hill, where they could see a great Way into the Valleys and Woods, which lay towards the North-East Part, and where the Island lay lowest, they shouted and hollow'd till they were weary; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the Shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a Tree, to consider of it: Had they thought fit to have gone to sleep there, as the other Party of them had done, they had done the Jobb for us; but they were too full of Apprehensions of Danger, to venture to go to sleep, tho' they could not tell what the Danger was they had to fear, neither.

The Captain made a very just Proposal to me, upon this Consultation of theirs, *viz.* That perhaps they would all fire a Volley again, to endeavour to make their Fellows hear, and that we should all sally upon them, just at the Juncture when their Pieces were all discharg'd, and they would certainly yield, and we should have them without Blood-shed: I lik'd the Proposal, provided it was done while we were near enough to come up to them, before they could load their Pieces again.

But

But this Event did not happen, and we lay ſtill a long Time, very irreſolute what Courſe to take; at length I told them, there would be nothing to be done in my Opinion till Night, and then if they did not return to the Boat, perhaps we might find a Way to get between them and the Shore, and ſo might uſe ſome Stratagem with them in the Boat, to get them on Shore.

We waited a great while, tho' very impatient for their removing, and were very uneaſy; when, after long Conſultatsons, we ſaw them ſtart all up, and march down toward the Sea: It ſeems they had ſuch dreadful Apprehenſions upon them, of the Danger of the Place, that they reſolv'd to go on Board the Ship again, give their Companions over for loſt, and ſo go on with their intended Voyage with the Ship.

As ſoon as I perceiv'd them go towards the Shore, I imagin'd it to be as it really was, That they had given over their Search, and were for going back again; and the Captain, as ſoon as I told him my Thoughts, was ready to ſink at the Apprehenſions of it; but I preſently thought of a Stratagem to fetch them back again, and which anſwer'd my End to a Tittle.

I order'd *Friday*, and the Captain's Mate, to go over the little Creek Weſtward, towards the Place where the *Savages* came on Shore, when *Friday* was reſcu'd; and as ſoon as they came to a little riſing Ground, at about half a Mile Diſtance, I bad them hollow, as loud as they could, and wait till they found the Seamen heard them; that as ſoon as ever they heard the Seamen anſwer them, they ſhould return it again, and then keeping out of Sight, take a Round, always anſwering when the other hollow'd, to draw them as far into the Iſland, and among the Woods,

Woods, as poſſible, and then wheel about again to me, by ſuch Ways as I directed them.

They were juſt going into the Boat, when *Friday* and the Mate hollow'd, and they preſently heard them, and anſwering, run along the Shore Weſtward, towards the Voice they heard, when they were preſently ſtopp'd by the Creek, where the Water being up, they could not get over, and call'd for the Boat to come up, and ſet them over, as indeed I expected.

When they had ſet themſelves over, I obſerv'd, that the Boat being gone up a good Way into the Creek, and, as it were, in a Harbour within the Land, they took one of the three Men out of her to go along with them, and left only two in the Boat, having faſten'd her to the Stump of a little Tree on the Shore.

This was what I wiſh'd for, and immediately leaving *Friday* and the Captain's Mate to their Buſineſs, I took the reſt with me, and croſſing the Creek out of their Sight, we ſurpriz'd the two Men before they were aware, one of them lying on Shore, and the other being in the Boat; the Fellow on Shore was between ſleeping and waking, and going to ſtart up, the Captain, who was foremoſt, ran in upon him, and knock'd him down, and then call'd out to him in the Boat to yield, or he was a dead Man.

There needed very few Arguments to perſwade a ſingle Man to yield, when he ſaw five Men upon him, and his Comrade knock'd down; beſides, this was, it ſeems, one of the three who were not hearty in the Mutiny as the reſt of the Crew, and therefore was eaſily perſwaded, not only to yield, but afterwards to join very ſincerely with us.

In the mean Time, *Friday* and the Captain's Mate ſo well manag'd their Buſineſs with the reſt, that they

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they drew them, by Hollowing and Answering, from one Hill to another, and from one Wood to another; till they not only heartily tir'd them, but left them where they were very sure they could not reach back to the Boat before it was dark; and indeed they were heartily tir'd themselves also by the Time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the Dark, and to fall upon them, so as to make sure Work with them.

It was several Hours after *Friday* came back to me, before they came back to their Boat; and we could hear the Foremost of them long before they came quite up, calling to those behind to come along, and could also hear them answer, and complain how lame and tyr'd they were, and not able to come any faster, which was very welcome News to us.

At length they came up to the Boat; but 'tis impossible to express their Confusion, when they found the Boat fast a-ground in the Creek, the Tide ebb'd out, and their two Men gone: We could hear them call to one another in a most lamentable Manner, telling one another they were gotten into an inchanted Island; that either there were Inhabitants in it, and they should all be murder'd; or else there were Devils and Spirits in it, and they should be all carry'd away and devour'd.

They hollow'd again, and call'd their two Comerades by their Names a great many Times, but no Answer. After some Time, we could see them, by the little Light there was, run about wringing their Hands, like Men in Despair; and that sometimes they would go and sit down in the Boat to rest themselves, then come ashore again, and walk about again, and so the same Thing over again.

My

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My Men would fain have me give them Leave to fall upon them at once in the Dark; but I was willing to take them at some Advantage, so to spare them, and kill as few of them as I could; and especially I was unwilling to hazard the killing any of our own Men, knowing the other were very well arm'd. I resolv'd to wait to see if they did not separate; and therefore to make sure of them, I drew my Ambuscade nearer, and order'd *Friday* and the Captain to creep upon their Hands and Feet as close to the Ground as they could, that they might not be discover'd, and get as near them as they could possibly, before they offer'd to fire.

They had not been long in that Posture, but that the Boatswain, who was the principal Ringleader of the Mutiny, and had now shewn himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them with two more of their Crew; the Captain was so eager, as having this principal Rogue so much in his Power, that he could hardly have Patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him; for they only heard his Tongue before: But when they came nearer, the Captain and *Friday* starting up on their Feet, let fly at them.

The Boatswain was kill'd upon the Spot; the next Man was shot into the Body, and fell just by him, tho' he did not die till an Hour or two after; and the third ran for it.

At the Noise of the Fire, I immediately advanc'd with my whole Army, which was now eight Men, *viz.* myself Generalissimo, *Friday* my Lieutenant-General, the Captain and his two Men, and the three Prisoners of War, who we had trusted with Arms.

We

We came upon them indeed in the Dark, ſo that they could not ſee our Number; and I made the Man they had left in the Boat, who was now one of us, to call them by Name, to try if I could bring them to a Parley, and ſo might perhaps reduce them to Terms, which fell out juſt as we deſir'd: For indeed it was eaſy to think, as their Condition then was, they would be very willing to capitulate; ſo he calls out as loud as he could, to one of them, *Tom Smith, Tom Smith; Tom Smith* anſwer'd immediately, *Who's that*, Robinſon? For it ſeems he knew his Voice: T'other anſwer'd, *Ay, ay; for God's Sake*, Tom Smith, *throw down your Arms, and yield, or you are all dead Men this Moment.*

Who muſt we yield to? Where are they? (ſays *Smith* again;) *Here they are*, ſays he, *here's our Captain*, and fifty Men with him, have been hunting you this two Hours; the Boatſwain is kill'd, *Will Frye* is wounded, and I am a Priſoner; and if you do not yield, you are all loſt.

Will they give us Quarter then, (ſays *Tom Smith*) and we will yield? *I'll go and aſk, if you promiſe to yield*, ſays *Robinſon*; ſo he aſk'd the Captain, and the Captain himſelf then calls out, You *Smith*, you know my Voice, if you lay down your Arms immediately, and ſubmit, you ſhall have your Lives, all but *Will. Atkins.*

Upon this, *Will. Atkins* cry'd out, *For God's Sake, Captain, give me Quarter, what have I done? They have been all as bad as I*; which by the Way was not true neither; for it ſeems this *Will. Atkins* was the firſt Man that laid hold of the Captain, when they firſt mutiny'd, and uſed him barbarouſly, in tying his Hands, and giving him injurious Language. However, the Captain told him he muſt lay down his Arms at Diſcretion, and truſt to the Gover-

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nour's Mercy, by which he meant me; for they all call'd me Governour.

In a Word, they all laid down their Arms, and begg'd their Lives; and I sent the Mau that had parly'd with them, and two more, who bound them all; and then my great Army of 50 Men, which particularly with those three, were all but eight, came up and seiz'd upon them all, and upon their Boat, only that I kept myself and one more out of Sight, for Reasons of State.

Our next Work was to repair the Boat, and to think of seizing the Ship; and as for the Captain, now he had Leisure to parly with them: He expostulated with them upon the Villany of their Practices with him, and at length, upon the farther Wickedness of their Design, and how certainly it must bring them to Misery and Distress in the End, and perhaps to the Gallows.

They all appear'd very penitent, and begg'd hard for their Lives; As for that, he told them, they were none of his Prisoners, but the Commander's of the Island; that they thought they had set him on Shore in a barren uninhabited Island, but it had pleas'd God so to direct them, that the Island was inhabited, and that the Governour was an *Englishman*; that he might hang them all there, if he pleas'd; but as he had given them all Quarter, he suppos'd he would send them to *England*, to be dealt with there, as Justice requir'd, except *Atkins*, who was commanded by the Governour to advise to prepare for Death; for that he would be hang'd in the Morning.

Though this was all a Fiction of his own, yet it had its desir'd Effect; *Atkins* fell upon his Knees to beg the Captain to intercede with the Governour for his Life, and all the rest begg'd of him for

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for God's sake, that they might not be sent to *England*.

It now occurr'd to him, that the Time of our Deliverance was come, and that it would be a most easy thing to bring these Fellows in, to be hearty in getting Possession of the Ship; so I retir'd in the Dark from them, that they might not see what Kind of a Governour they had, and call'd the Captain to me; when I call'd, as at a good Distance, one of the Men was order'd to speak again, and say to the Captain, *Captain, the Commander calls for you*; and presently the Captain reply'd, *Tell his Excellency, I am just a coming*. This more perfectly amus'd them; and they all believ'd that the Commander was just by with his fifty Men.

Upon the Captain's coming to me, I told him my Project for seizing the Ship, which he lik'd of wonderfully well, and resolv'd to put it in Execution the next Morning.

But in Order to execute it with more Art, and secure of Success, I told him, we must divide the Prisoners, and that he should go and take *Atkins* and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinion'd to the Cave where the others lay: This was committed to *Friday* and the two Men who came on Shore with the Captain.

They convey'd them to the Cave, as to a Prison; and it was, indeed, a dismal Place, especially to Men in their Condition.

The other I order'd to my Bower, as I call'd it, of which I have given a full Description; and as it was fenc'd in, and they pinion'd; the Place was secure enough, considering they were upon their Behaviour.

To these in the Morning I sent the Captain, who was to enter into a Parley with them, in a Word, to try them, and tell me, whether he thought they

might

might be trusted or no, to go on Board and surprize the Ship. He talk'd to them of the Injury done him; of the Condition they were brought to; and that though the Governour had given them Quarter for their Lives, as to the present Action, yet that if they were sent to *England*, they would all be hang'd in Chains, to be sure; but that if they would join in so just an Attempt, as to recover the Ship, he would have the Governour's Engagement for their Pardon.

Any one may guess how readily such a Proposal would be accepted by Men in their Condition; they fell down on their Knees to the Captain, and promised with the deepest Imprecations, that they would be faithful to him to the last Drop, and that they should owe their Lives to him, and would go with him all over the World; that they would own him for a Father to them as long as they liv'd.

Well, says the Captain, I must go and tell the Governour what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it: So he brought me an Account of the Temper he found them in; and that he verily believ'd they would be faithful.

However, that we might be very secure, I told him he should go back again, and chuse out those five, and tell them, they might see that he did not want Men; that he would take out those five to be his Assistants, and that the Governour would keep the other two, and the three that were sent Prisoners to the Castle *(my Cave)* as Hostages, for the Fidelity of those five; and that if they prov'd unfaithful in the Execution, the five Hostages should be hang'd in Chains alive upon the Shore.

This

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This look'd ſevere, and convinc'd them that the Governour was in Earneſt; however, they had no Way left them but to accept it; and it was now the Buſineſs of the Priſoners, as much as of the Captain, to perſwade the other five to do their Duty.

Our Strength was now thus order'd for the Expedition: 1. The Captain, his Mate, and Paſſenger. 2. Then the two Priſoners of the firſt Gang, to whom, having their Characters from the Captain, I had given their Liberty, and truſted them with Arms. 3. The other two, who I had kept till now in my Bower, pinion'd, but, upon the Captain's Motion, had now releas'd. 4. Theſe five releas'd at laſt; ſo that they were twelve in all, beſides five we kept Priſoners in the Cave for Hoſtages.

I alk'd the Captain, if he was willing to venture with theſe Hands on Board the Ship; for, as for me and my Man *Friday*, I did not think it was proper for us to ſtir, having ſeven Men left behind; and it was Employment enough for us to keep them aſunder, and ſupply them with Victuals.

As to the five in the Cave, I reſolv'd to keep them faſt; but *Friday* went in twice a Day to them, to ſupply them with Neceſſaries; and I made the other two carry Proviſions to a certain Diſtance, where *Friday* was to take it.

When I ſhew'd my ſelf to the two Hoſtages, it was with the Captain, who told them, I was the Perſon the Governour had order'd to look after them, and that it was the Governour's Pleaſure they ſhould not ſtir any where but by my Direction; that if they did, they ſhould be fetch'd into the Caſtle, and be laid in Irons; ſo that as we never ſuffered them to ſee me as Governour, ſo I now appear'd as another Perſon, and ſpoke of the

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Governour, the Garriſon, the Caſtle, and the like, upon all Occaſions.

The Captain now had no Difficulty before him, but to furniſh his two Boats, ſtop the Breach of one, and man them. He made his Paſſenger Captain of one, with four other Men; and himſelf, and his Mate, and five more went in the other: And they contriv'd their Buſineſs very well; for they came up to the Ship about Midnight. As ſoon as they came within Call of the Ship, he made *Robinſon* hale them, and tell them they had brought off the Men and the Boat, but that it was a long Time before they had found them, and the like; holding them in a Chat 'till they came to the Ship's Side; when the Captain and the Mate, entering firſt with their Arms, immediately knock'd down the ſecond Mate and Carpenter with the But-end of their Muſkets, being very faithfully ſeconded by their Men; they ſecur'd all the reſt that were upon the Main and Quarter Decks, and began to faſten the Hatches to keep them down who were below, when the other Boat and their Men entering at the fore Chains, ſecur'd the Fore-Caſtle of the Ship, and the Scuttle which went down in the Cook-Room, making three Men they found there Priſoners.

When this was done, and all ſafe upon Deck, the Captain order'd the Mate with three Men to break into the Round Houſe, where the new Rebel Captain lay; and, having taken the Alarm, was gotten up, and with two Men and a Boy had gotten Fire-Arms in their Hands; and when the Mate with a Crow ſplit open the Door, the new Captain and his Men fir'd boldly among them, and wounded the Mate with a Muſket-Ball, which broke his Arm, and wounded two more of the Men, but kill'd no Body.

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The Mate calling for Help, ruſh'd however into the Round-Houſe, wounded as he was, and with his Piſtol ſhot the new Captain through the Head, the Bullet entering at his Mouth, and came out again behind one of his Ears; ſo that he never ſpoke a Word; upon which the reſt yielded, and the Ship was taken effectually, without any more Lives loſt.

As ſoon as the Ship was thus ſecur'd, the Captain order'd ſeven Guns to be fir'd, which was the Signal agreed upon with me, to give me Notice of his Succeſs, which you may be ſure I was very glad to hear, having ſate watching upon the Shore for it till near two of the Clock in the Morning.

Having thus heard the Signal plainly, I laid me down; and it having been a Day of great Fatigue to me, I ſlept very ſound, till I was ſomething ſurpriz'd with the Noiſe of a Gun; and preſently ſtarting up, I heard a Man call me by the Name of Governour, Governour, and preſently I knew the Captain's Voice, when climbing up to the Top of the Hill, there he ſtood, and pointing to the Ship, he embrac'd me in his Arms, *My dear Friend and Deliverer*, ſays he, *there's your Ship, for ſhe is all yours, and ſo are we and all that belong to her.* I caſt my Eyes to the Ship, and there ſhe rode within little more than half a Mile of the Shore; for they had weigh'd her Anchor as ſoon as they were Maſters of her; and the Weather being fair, had brought her to an Anchor juſt againſt the Mouth of the little Creek; and the Tide being up, the Captain had brought the Pinnace in near the Place where I firſt landed my Rafts, and ſo landed juſt at my Door.

I was at firſt ready to ſink down with the Surprize: For I ſaw my Deliverance indeed viſibly put into my Hands, all Things eaſy, and a large Ship juſt ready to carry me away whither I plea-

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ſed to go. At firſt, for ſome Time, I was not able to anſwer him one Word; but as he had taken me in his Arms, I held faſt by him, or I ſhould have fallen to the Ground.

He perceiv'd the Surprize, and immediately pulls a Bottle out of his Pocket, and gave me a Dram of Cordial, which he had brought on purpoſe for me; after I had drank it, I ſat down upon the Ground; and though it brought me to my ſelf, yet it was a good while before I could ſpeak a Word to him.

All this while the poor Man was in as great an Extaſy as I, only not under any Surprize, as I was; and he ſaid a thouſand kind tender Things to me, to compoſe and bring me to my ſelf; but ſuch was the Flood of Joy in my Breaſt, that it put all my Spirits into Confuſion; at laſt it broke out into Tears, and in a little while after I recover'd my Speech.

Then I took my Turn, and embrac'd him as my Deliverer; and we rejoyc'd together. I told him, I look'd upon him as a Man ſent from Heaven to deliver me, and that the whole Tranſaction ſeem'd to be a Chain of Wonders; that ſuch Things as theſe were the Teſtimonies we had of a ſecret Hand of Providence governing the World, and an Evidence, that the Eyes of an infinite Power could ſearch into the remoteſt Corner of the World, and ſend Help to the Miſerable whenever he pleaſed.

I forgot not to lift up my Heart in Thankfulneſs to Heaven; and what Heart could forbear to bleſs him, who had not only in a miraculous Manner provided for one in ſuch a Wilderneſs, and in ſuch a deſolate Condition, but from whom every Deliverance muſt always be acknowledged to proceed!

When

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When we had talk'd a while, the Captain told me, he had brought me ſome little Refreſhment, ſuch as the Ship afforded, and ſuch as the Wretches that had been ſo long his Maſters had not plunder'd him of: Upon this he call'd aloud to the Boat, and bid his Men bring the Things a-Shore that were for the Governour; and indeed it was a Preſent, as if I had been one not that was to be carry'd away along with them, but as if I had been to dwell upon the Iſland ſtill, and they were to go without me.

Firſt he had brought me a Caſe of Bottles full of excellent Cordial Waters, ſix large Bottles of *Madera* Wine; the Bottles held two Qarts a-piece; two Pound of excellent good Tobacco, twelve good Pieces of the Ship's Beef, and ſix Pieces of Pork, with a Bag of Peaſe, and about a hundred Weight of Biſket.

He brought me alſo a Box of Sugar, a Box of Flower, a Bag full of Lemons, and two Bottles of Lime-juice, and abundance of other Things: But beſides theſe, and what was a thouſand times more uſeful to me, he brought me ſix clean new Shirts, ſix very good Neckcloaths, two Pair of Gloves, one Pair of Shoes, a Hat, and one Pair of Stockings, and a very good Suit of Cloaths of his own, which had been worn but very little: In a Word, he cloathed me from Head to Foot.

It was a very kind and agreeable Preſent, as any one may imagine, to one in my Circumſtances: But never was any thing in the World of that Kind ſo unpleaſant, awkard, and uneaſy, as it was to me to wear ſuch Cloaths at their firſt putting on.

After theſe Ceremonies paſt, and after all his good Things were brought into my little Apartment, we began to conſult what was to be done with the Priſoners we had; for it was worth conſidering

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ſidering, whether we might venture to take them away with us or no, eſpecially two of them, who we knew to be incorrigible and refractory to the laſt Degree; and the Captain ſaid, he knew they were ſuch Rogues, that there was no obliging them, and if he did carry them away, it muſt be in Irons, as Malefactors to be deliver'd over to Juſtice at the firſt *Engliſh* Colony he could come at; and I found that the Captain himſelf was very anxious about it.

Upon this, I told him, that if he deſir'd it, I durſt undertake to bring the two Men he ſpoke of, to make it their own Requeſt that he ſhould leave them upon the Iſland: *I ſhould be very glad of that*, ſays the Captain, *with all my Heart.*

Well, ſays I, I will ſend for them up, and talk with them for you; ſo I caus'd *Friday* and the two Hoſtages, for they were now diſcharg'd, their Comrades having perform'd their Promiſe; I ſay, I cauſed them to go to the Cave, and bring up the five Men pinion'd, as they were, to the Bower, and keep them there 'till I came.

After ſome Time, I came thither dreſs'd in my new Habit, and now I was call'd Governour again; being all met, and the Captain with me, I caus'd the Men to be brought before me, and I told them, I had had a full Account of their villanious Behaviour to the Captain, and how they had ran away with the Ship, and were preparing to commit farther Robberies, but that Providence had enſnar'd them in their own Ways, and that they were fall'n into the Pit which they had digg'd for others.

I let them know, that by my Direction the Ship had been ſeiz'd, that ſhe lay now in the Road, and they might ſee by and by, that their new Captain had

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had receiv'd the Reward of his Villainy; for that they might see him hanging at the Yard-Arm.

That as to them, I wanted to know what they had to say, why I should not execute them as Pirates taken in the Fact, as by my Commission they could not doubt I had Authority to do.

One of them answer'd in the Name of the rest, That they had nothing to say but this, That when they were taken the Captain promis'd them their Lives, and they humbly implor'd my Mercy: But I told them, I knew not what Mercy to shew them; for, as for myself, I had resolv'd to quit the Island with all my Men, and had taken Passage with the Captain to go for *England*: And as for the Captain, he could not carry them to *England*, other than as Prisoners in Irons to be try'd for Mutiny and running away with the Ship; the Consequence of which they must needs know would be the Gallows; so that I could not tell which was best for them, unless they had a Mind to take their Fate in the Island; if they desir'd that, I did not care, as I had Liberty to leave it, I had some Inclination to give them their Lives, if they thought they could shift on Shore.

They seem'd very thankful for it, said they would much rather venture to stay there, than to be carry'd to *England* to be hang'd; so I left it on that Issue.

However, the Captain seem'd to make some Difficulty of it, as if he durst not leave them there: Upon this I seem'd a little angry with the Captain, and told him, That they were my Prisoners, not his; and that seeing I had offer'd them so much Favour, I would be as good as my Word; and that if he did not think fit to consent to it, I would set them at Liberty as I found them; and

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if he did not like it, he might take them again if he could catch them.

Upon this they appear'd very thankful, and I accordingly ſet them at Liberty, and bade them retire into the Woods, to the Place whence they came, and I would leave them ſome Fire Arms, ſome Ammunition, and ſome Directions how they ſhould live very well, if they thought fit.

Upon this, I prepar'd to go on Board the Ship, but told the Captain, that I would ſtay that Night to prepare my Things, and deſir'd him to go on Board in the mean Time, and keep all right in the Ship, and ſend the Boat on Shore the next Day for me; ordering him, in the mean time, to cauſe the new Captain who was kill'd, to be hang'd at the Yard-Arm that theſe Men might ſee him.

When the Captain was gone, I ſent for the Men up to me to my Apartment, and enter'd ſeriouſly into Diſcourſe with them of their Circumſtances; I told them, I thought they had made a right Choice; that if the Captain carry'd them away, they would certainly be hang'd. I ſhew'd them the new Captain, hanging at the Yard-Arm of the Ship, and told them they had nothing leſs to expect.

When they had all declar'd their Willingneſs to ſtay, I then told them, I would let them into the Story of my living there, and put them into the Way of making it eaſy to them. Accordingly I gave them the whole Hiſtory of the Place, and of my coming to it; ſhew'd them my Fortifications, the Way I made my Bread, planted my Corn, cured my Grapes; and in a Word, all that was neceſſary to make them eaſy: I told them the Story alſo of the ſixteen *Spaniards* that were to be expected; for whom I left a Letter, and made them promiſe to treat them in common with themſelves.

I left

I left them my Fire Arms, *viz.* Five Muſkets, three Fowling Pieces, and three Swords. I had above a Barrel and half of Powder left; for after the firſt Year or two, I us'd but little, and waſted none. I gave them a Deſcription of the Way I manag'd the Goats, and Directions to milk and fatten them, and to make both Butter and Cheeſe.

In a Word, I gave them every Part of my own Story; and I told them, I would prevail with the Captain to leave them two Barrels of Gun-Powder more, and ſome Garden-Seeds, which I told them I would have been very glad of; alſo I gave them the Bag of Peaſe which the Captain had brought me to eat, and bade them be ſure to ſow and encreaſe them.

Having done all this, I left them the next Day, and went on Board the Ship: We prepar'd immediately to ſail, but did not weigh that Night: The next Morning early, two of the five Men came ſwimming to the Ship's Side, and making a moſt lamentable Complaint of the other three, begg'd to be taken into the Ship, for God's Sake, for they ſhou'd be murder'd, and begg'd the Captain to take them on Board, tho' he hang'd them immediately.

Upon this, the Captain pretended to have no Power without me; but after ſome Difficulty, and after their ſolemn Promiſes of Amendment, they were taken on Board, and were ſome time after ſoundly whipp'd and pickl'd; after which, they prov'd very honeſt and quiet Fellows.

Some time after this, the Boat was order'd on Shore, the Tide being up, with the Things promiſed to the Men, to which the Captain, at my Interceſſion, caus'd their Cheſts and Cloaths to be added, which they took, and were very thankful for; I alſo encourag'd them, by telling them, that if

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it lay in my Way to ſend any Veſſel to take them in, I would not forget them.

When I took Leave of this Iſland, I carry'd on Board for Reliques the great Goat's Skin Cap I had made, my Umbrella, and one of my Parrots; alſo I forgot not to take the Money I formerly mention'd, which had lain by me ſo long uſeleſs, that it was grown ruſty, or tarniſh'd, and could hardly paſs for Silver, till it had been a little rubb'd, and handled; as alſo the Money I found in the Wreck of the *Spaniſh* Ship.

And thus I left the Iſland, the Nineteenth of *December*, as I found by the Ship's Account, in the Year 1686, after I had been upon it eight and twenty Years, two Months, and nineteen Days; being deliver'd from this ſecond Captivity the ſame Day of the Month, that I firſt made my Eſcape, in the *Barca-Longa*, from among the *Moors* of *Sallee*.

In this Veſſel, after a long Voyage, I arriv'd in *England*, the Eleventh of *June*, in the Year 1687, having been thirty and five Years abſent.

When I came to *England*, I was as perfect a Stranger to all the World, as if I had never been known there. My Benefactor and faithful Steward, who I had left in Truſt with my Money, was alive; but had had great Misfortunes in the World, was become a Widow the ſecond Time, and very low in the World: I made her eaſy as to what ſhe ow'd me, aſſuring her, I would give her no Trouble; but on the contrary, in Gratitude to her former Care and Faithfulneſs to me, I reliev'd her, as my little Stock would afford, which at that Time would indeed allow me to do but little for her; but I aſſur'd her, I would never forget her former Kindneſs to me; nor did I forget her, when I had ſufficient to help her; as ſhall be obſerv'd in its Place.

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I went down afterwards into *Yorkshire*; but my Father was dead, and my Mother, and all the Family extinct, except that I found two Sisters, and two of the Children of one of my Brothers; and as I had been long ago given over for dead, there had been no Provision made for me; so that, in a Word, I found nothing to relieve or assist me; and that little Money I had, would not do much for me, as to settling in the World.

I met with one Piece of Gratitude indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, That the Master of the Ship, who I had so happily deliver'd, and by the same Means sav'd the Ship and Cargo, having given a very handsome Account to the Owners of the Manner how I had sav'd the Lives of the Men, and the Ship, they invited me to meet them, and some other Merchants concern'd, and all together made me a very handsome Complement upon the Subject, and a Present of almost two hundred Pounds Sterling.

But after making several Reflections upon the Circumstances of my Life, and how little Way this would go towards settling me in the World, I resolv'd to go to *Lisbon*, and see if I might not come by some Information of the State of my Plantation in the *Brasils*, and of what was become of my Partner, who I had Reason to suppose had some Years now given me over for dead.

With this View I took Shipping for *Lisbon*, where I arriv'd in *April* following; my Man *Friday* accompanying me very honestly in all these Ramblings, and proving a most faithful Servant upon all Occasions.

When I came to *Lisbon*, I found out, by Enquiry, and to my particular Satisfaction, my old Friend the Captain of the Ship, who first took me up at Sea, off of the Shore of *Africk*: He was now grown

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grown old, and had left off the Sea, having put his Son, who was far from a young Man, into his Ship; and who ſtill uſed the *Braſil* Trade. The old Man did not know me, and, indeed, I hardly knew him; but I ſoon brought him to my Remembrance, and as ſoon brought myſelf to his Remembrance, when I told him who I was.

After ſome paſſionate Expreſſions of the old Acquaintance, I enquir'd, you may be ſure, after my Plantation and my Partner: The old Man told me he had not been in the *Braſils* for about nine Years; but that he could aſſure me, that when he came away, my Partner was living. but the Truſtees, who I had join'd with him to take Cogniſance of my Part, were both dead; that however, he believ'd that I would have a very good Account of the Improvement of the Plantation; for that upon the general Belief of my being caſt away and drown'd, my Truſtees had given in the Account of the Produce of my Part of the Plantation, to the Procurator Fiſcal; who had appropriated it, in Caſe I never came to claim it, one Third to the King, and two Thirds to the Monaſtery of St. *Auguſtine*, to be expended for the Benefit of the Poor, and for the Converſion of the *Indians* to the Catholick Faith; but that if I appear'd, or any one for me, to claim the Inheritance, it ſhould be reſtor'd; only that the Improvement, or annual Production, being diſtributed to charitable Uſes, could not be reſtor'd; but he aſſur'd me, that the Steward of the King's Revenue (from Lands) and the Provedidore, or Steward of the Monaſtery, had taken great Care all along, that the Incumbent, that is to ſay, my Partner, gave every Year a faithful Account of the Produce, of which they receiv'd duly my Moiety.

I aſk'd

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I aſk'd him if he knew to what Height of Improvement he had brought the Plantation? And, whether he thought it might be worth looking after; or whether, on my going thither, I ſhould meet with no Obſtruction to my poſſeſſing my juſt Right in the Moiety?

He told me, he could not tell exactly to what Degree the Plantation was improv'd; but this he knew, that my Partner was grown exceeding rich upon the enjoying but one Half of it; and that, to the beſt of his Remembrance, he had heard, that the King's Third of my Part, which was, it ſeems, granted away to ſome other Monaſtery, or religious Houſe, amounted to above two hundred Moidores a Year; that as to my being reſtor'd to a quiet Poſſeſſion of it, there was no Queſtion to be made of that, my Partner being alive to witneſs my Title, and my Name being alſo enroll'd in the Regiſter of the Country; alſo he told me, that the Survivors of my two Truſtees, were very fair honeſt People, and very wealthy; and he believ'd I would not only have their Aſſiſtance for putting me in Poſſeſſion, but would find a very conſiderable Sum of Money in their Hands, for my Account; being the Produce of the Farm, while their Fathers held the Truſt, and before it was given up, as above, which, as he remember'd, was for about twelve Years.

I ſhew'd myſelf a little concern'd, and uneaſy at this Account, and enquir'd of the old Captain, how it came to paſs, that the Truſtees ſhould thus diſpoſe of my Effects, when he knew that I had made my Will, and had made him, the *Portugueſe* Captain, my univerſal Heir, *&c.*

He told me, that was true; but that as there was no Proof of my being dead, he could not act as Executor, until ſome certain Account ſhould come

come of my Death; and that beſides, he was not willing to intermeddle with a Thing ſo remote: That it was true, he had regiſter'd my Will, and put in his Claim; and could he have given any Account of my being dead or alive, he would have acted by Procuration, and taken Poſſeſſion of the *Ingenio*, (ſo they call'd the Sugar-houſe) and had given his Son, who was now at the *Braſils*, Order to do it.

But, ſays the old Man, I have one Piece of News to tell you, which, perhaps, may not be ſo acceptable to you as the reſt, and that is, That believing you were loſt, and all the World believing ſo alſo, your Partner and Truſtees did offer to accompt to me in your Name, for ſix or eight of the firſt Years of Profits, which I receiv'd; but there being at that Time, ſays he, great Diſburſements for increaſing the Works, building an *Ingenio*, and buying Slaves, it did not amount to near ſo much as afterwards it produc'd: However, ſays the old Man, I ſhall give you a true Account of what I have receiv'd in all, and how I have diſpos'd of it.

After a few Days farther Conference with this ancient Friend, he brought me an Account of the ſix firſt Years Income of my Plantation, ſign'd by my Partner, and the Merchants Truſtees, being always deliver'd in Goods, *viz.* Tobacco in Roll, and Sugar in Cheſts, beſides Rum, Moloſſus, *&c.* which is the Conſequence of a Sugar-Work; and I found, by this Account, that every Year the Income conſiderably increas'd; but, as above, the Diſburſement being large, the Sum at firſt was ſmall: However, the old Man let me ſee, that he was Debtor to me 470 Moidores of Gold, beſides 60 Cheſts, of Sugar, and 15 double Rolls of Tobacco, which were loſt in his Ship; he having been

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ſhip-wreck'd coming Home to *Liſbon*, about 11 Years after my leaving the Place,

The good Man then began to complain of his Misfortunes, and how he had been oblig'd to make Uſe of my Money to recover his Loſſes, and buy him a Share in a new Ship: However, my old Friend, ſays he, you ſhall not want a Supply in your Neceſſity; and as ſoon as my Son returns, you ſhall be fully ſatisfy'd.

Upon this, he pulls out an old Pouch, and gives me 160 *Portugal* Moidores in Gold; and giving me the Writing of his Title to the Ship, which his Son was gone to the *Braſils* in, of which he was a Quarter Part Owner, and his Son another, he puts them both into my Hands for Security of the reſt.

I was too much mov'd with the Honeſty and Kindneſs of the poor Man, to be able to bear this; and remembering what he had done for me, how he had taken me up at Sea, and how generouſly he had uſed me on all Occaſions, and, particularly, how ſincere a Friend he was now to me, I could hardly refrain weeping at what he ſaid to me: Therefore, firſt I aſk'd him, if his Circumſtances admitted him to ſpare ſo much Money at that Time, and if it would not ſtraiten him? He told me, he could not ſay but it might ſtraiten him a little; but however, it was my Money, and I might want it more than he.

Every thing the good Man ſaid was full of Affection, and I could hardly refrain from Tears while he ſpoke: In ſhort, I took 100 of the Moidores, and call'd for a Pen and Ink to give him a Receipt for them; then I return'd him the reſt, and told him, if ever I had Poſſeſſion of the Plantation, I would return the other to him alſo, as indeed I afterwards did; and that as to the Bill of Sale of his

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his Part in his Son's Ship, I would not take it by any Means; but that if I wanted the Money, I found he was honeſt enough to pay me; and if I did not, but came to receive what he gave me Reaſon to expect, I would never have a Penny more from him.

When this was paſs'd, the old Man began to aſk me, if he ſhould put me in a Method to make my Claim to my Plantation? I told him, I thought to go over to it myſelf: He ſaid, I might do ſo if I pleas'd; but that if I did not, there were Ways enough to ſecure my Right, and immediately to appropriate the Profits to my Uſe; and as there were Ships in the River of *Liſbon*, juſt ready to go away to *Braſil*, he made me enter my Name in a publick Regiſter, with his Affidavit, affirming upon Oath that I was alive, and that I was the ſame Perſon who took up the Land for the Planting the ſaid Plantation at firſt.

This being regularly atteſted by a Notary, and a Procuration affix'd, he directed me to ſend it with a Letter of his Writing, to a Merchant of his Acquaintance at the Place, and then propos'd my ſtaying with him 'till an Account came of the Return.

Never anything was more honourable than the Proceedings upon this Procuration; for in leſs than ſeven Months I receiv'd a large Packet from the Survivors of my Truſtees the Merchants, for whoſe Account I went to Sea, in which were the following particular Letters and Papers enclos'd.

Firſt, There was the Account Current of the Produce of my Farm or Plantation, from the Year when their Fathers had balanc'd with my old *Portugal* Captain, being for ſix Years; the Balance appear'd to be 1174 Moidores in my Favour.

Secondly,

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Secondly, There was the Account of four Years more while they kept the Effects in their Hands, before the Government claim'd the Administration, as being the Effects of a Person not to be found, which they call *Civil Death*; and the Ballance of this, the Value of the Plantation encreasing, amounted to Cruisadoes, which made 3241 Moidores.

Thirdly, There was the Prior of the *Augustine's* Account, who had receiv'd the Profits for above fourteen Years; but not being to account for what was dispos'd to the Hospital, very honestly declar'd he had 872 Moidores not distributed, which he acknowledged to my Account; as to the King's Part, that refunded nothing.

There was a Letter of my Partner's, congratulating me very affectionately upon my being alive, giving me an Account how the Estate was improv'd, and what it produced a Year, with a Particular of the Number of Squares or Acres that it contained; how planted, how many Slaves there were upon it, and making two and twenty Crosses for Blessings, told me he had said so many *Ave Maria's* to thank the Blessed Virgin that I was alive; inviting me very passionately to come over and take Possession of my own; and in the mean time to give him Orders to whom he should deliver my Effects, if I did not come my self; concluding with a hearty Tender of his Friendship, and that of his Family, and sent me, as a Present, seven fine Leopard's Skins, which he had it seems received from *Africa*, by some other Ship which he had sent thither, and who it seems had made a better Voyage than I: He sent me also five Chests of excellent Sweet-meats, and an hundred Pieces of Gold uncoin'd, not quite so large as Moidores.

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By the ſame Fleet, my two Merchant Truſtees ſhipp'd me 1200 Cheſts of Sugar, 800 Rolls of Tobacco, and the reſt of the whole Accompt in Gold.

I might well ſay, now indeed, That the latter End of *Job* was better than the Beginning. It is impoſſible to expreſs the Flutterings of my very Heart, when I look'd over theſe Letters, and eſpecially when I found all my Wealth about me; for as the *Braſil* Ships come all in Fleets, the ſame Ships which brought my Letters, brought my Goods; and the Effects were ſafe in the River before the Letters came to my Hand. In a Word, I turned pale, and grew ſick; and had not the old Man run and fetch'd me a Cordial, I believe the ſudden Surprize of Joy had overſet Nature, and I had dy'd upon the Spot.

Nay after that, I continu'd very ill, and was ſo ſome Hours, 'till a Phyſician being ſent for, and ſomething of the real Cauſe of my Illneſs being known, he order'd me to be let Blood; after which, I had Relief, and grew well: But I verily believe, if it had not been eas'd by a Vent given in that manner, to the Spirits, I ſhould have dy'd.

I was now Maſter, all on a ſudden, of above 5000 *l. Sterling* in Money, and had an Eſtate, as I might well call it, in the *Braſils*, of above a thouſand Pounds a Year, as ſure as an Eſtate of Lands in *England*: And in a Word, I was in a Condition which I ſcarce knew how to underſtand, or how to compoſe my ſelf, for the Enjoyment of it.

The firſt thing I did, was to recompenſe my original Benefactor, my good old Captain, who had been firſt charitable to me in my Diſtreſs, kind to me in my Beginning, and honeſt to me at the End: I ſhew'd him all that was ſent me, I told

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told him, that next to the Providence of Heaven, which diſpoſes all things, it was owing to him; and that it now lay on me to reward him, which I would do a hundred fold: So I firſt return'd to him the hundred Moidores I had receiv'd of him, then I ſent for a Notary, and cauſed him to draw up a general Releaſe or Diſcharge for the 470 Moidores, which he had acknowledg'd he ow'd me in the fulleſt and firmeſt Manner poſſible; after which, I cauſed a Procuration to be drawn, impowering him to be my Receiver of the annual Profits of my Plantation, and appointing my Partner to accompt to him, and make the Returns by the uſual Fleets to him in my Name; and a Clauſe in the End, being a Grant of 100 Moidores a Year to him, during his Life, out of the Effects, and 50 Moidores a Year to his Son after him, for his Life: And thus I requited my old Man.

I was now to conſider which Way to ſteer my Courſe next, and what to do with the Eſtate that Providence had thus put into my Hands; and indeed I had more Care upon my Head now, than I had in my ſilent State of Life in the Iſland, where I wanted nothing but what I had, and had nothing but what I wanted: Whereas I had now a great Charge upon me, and my Buſineſs was how to ſecure it. I had ne'er a Cave now to hide my Money in, or a Place where it might lye without Lock or Key, 'till it grew mouldy and tarniſh'd before any Body would meddle with it: On the contrary, I knew not where to put it, or who to truſt with it. My old Patron, the Captain, indeed was honeſt, and that was the only Refuge I had.

In the next Place, my Intereſt in the *Braſils* ſeem'd to ſummon me thither, but now I could not tell, how to think of going thither, 'till I had

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ſettled my Affairs, and left my Effects in ſome ſafe Hands behind me. At firſt I thought of my old Friend the Widow, who I knew was honeſt, and would be juſt to me; but then ſhe was in Years, and but poor, and for ought I knew, might be in Debt; ſo that in a Word, I had no way but to go back to *England* my ſelf, and take my Effects with me.

It was ſome Months however before I reſolved upon this; and therefore, as I had rewarded the old Captain fully, and to his Satisfaction, who had been my former Benefactor, ſo I began to think of my poor Widow, whoſe Husband had been my firſt Benefactor, and ſhe, while it was in her Power, my faithful Steward and Inſtructor. So the firſt thing I did, I got a Merchant in *Lisbon* to write to his Correſpondent in *London*, not only to pay a Bill, but to go find her out, and carry her in Money, an hundred Pounds from me, and to talk with her, and comfort her in her Poverty, by telling her ſhe ſhould, if I liv'd, have a farther Supply: At the ſame time I ſent my two Siſters in the Country, each of them an hundred Pounds, they being, though not in Want, yet not in very good Circumſtances; one having been marry'd, and left a Widow; and the other having a Husband not ſo kind to her as he ſhould be.

But among all my Relations, or Acquaintances, I could not yet pitch upon one, to whom I durſt commit the Groſs of my Stock, that I might go away to the *Braſils*, and leave things ſafe behind me; and this greatly perplex'd me.

I had once a Mind to have gone to the *Braſils*, and have ſettled my ſelf there; for I was, as it were, naturaliz'd to the Place; but I had ſome little Scruple in my Mind about Religion, which inſenſibly drew me back, of which I ſhall ſay more

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more presently. However, it was not Religion that kept me from going there for the present; and as I had made no Scruple of being openly of the Religion of the Country, all the while I was among them, so neither did I yet; only that now and then having of late thought more of it, (than formerly) when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret my having profess'd my self a Papist, and thought it might not be the best Religion to die with.

But, as I have said, this was not the main thing that kept me from going to the *Brasils*, but that really I did not know with whom to leave my Effects behind me; so I resolv'd at last to go to *England* with it, where, if I arrived, I concluded I should make some Acquaintance, or find some Relations that would be faithful to me; and accordingly I prepar'd to go for *England* with all my Wealth.

In order to prepare things for my going Home, I first, the *Brasil* Fleet being just going away, resolved to give Answers suitable to the just and faithful Account of things I had from thence; and first to the Prior of St. *Augustin* I wrote a Letter full of Thanks for their just Dealings, and the Offer of the 872 Moidores, which was indispos'd of, which I desir'd might be given 500 to the Monastery, and 372 to the Poor, as the Prior should direct, desiring the good *Padres* Prayers for me, and the like.

I wrote next a Letter of Thanks to my two Trustees, with all the Acknowledgment that so much Justice and Honesty call'd for; as for sending them any Present, they were far above having any Occasion of it.

Lastly, I wrote to my Partner, acknowledging his Industry in the Improving the Plantation, and his Integrity in encreasing the Stock of the Works; giving him Instructions for his future Govern-

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ment of my Part, according to the Powers I had left with my old Patron, to whom I desir'd him to send whatever became due to me, 'till he should hear from me more particularly; assuring him that it was my Intention, not only to come to him, but to settle my self there for the Remainder of my Life: To this I added a very handsom Present of some *Italian* Silks for his Wife, and two Daughters, for such the Captain's Son inform'd me he had; with two Pieces of fine *English* Broad-Cloath, the best I could get in *Lisbon*, five Pieces of black Bays, and some *Flanders* Lace of a good Value.

Having thus settled my Affairs, sold my Cargoe, and turn'd all my Effects into good Bills of Exchange; my next Difficulty was, which Way to go to *England*: I had been accustom'd enough to the Sea, and yet I had a strange Aversion to going to *England* by Sea at that time; and though I could give no Reason for it, yet the Difficulty encreas'd upon me so much, that though I had once shipp'd my Baggage, in order to go, yet I alter'd my Mind, and that not once, but two or three times.

It is true, I had been very unfortunate by Sea, and this might be some of the Reasons: But let no Man slight the strong Impulses of his own Thoughts in Cases of such Moment: Two of the Ships which I had singl'd out to go in, I mean, more particularly singl'd out than any other, that is to say, so as in one of them to put my things on Board, and in the other to have agreed with the Captain; I say, two of these Ships miscarry'd, *viz.* one was taken by the *Algerines*, and the other was cast away on the *Start* near *Torbay*, and all the People drown'd except three; so that in either of those Vessels I had been made miserable; and in which most, it was hard to say.

Having

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Having been thus haraſs'd in my Thoughts, my old Pilot, to whom I communicated every thing, preſs'd me earneſtly not to go by Sea, but either to go by Land to the *Groyne*, and croſs over the Bay of *Biſcay* to *Rochell*, from whence it was but an eaſy and ſafe Journey by Land to *Paris*, and ſo to *Calais* and *Dover*; or to go up to *Madrid*, and ſo all the Way by Land thro' *France*.

In a Word, I was ſo prepoſſeſs'd againſt my going by Sea at all, except from *Calais* to *Dover*, that I reſolv'd to travel all the Way by Land; which as I was not in Haſte, and did not value the Charge, was by much the pleaſanter Way; and to make it more ſo, my old Captain brought an *Engliſh* Gentleman, the Son of a Merchant in *Lisbon*, who was willing to travel with me: After which, we pick'd up two more *Engliſh* Merchants alſo, and two young *Portugueſe* Gentlemen, the laſt going to *Paris* only; ſo that we were in all ſix of us, and five Servants; the two Merchants and the two *Portugueſe*, contenting themſelves with one Servant between two, to ſave the Charge; and as for me, I got an *Engliſh* Sailor to travel with me as a Servant, beſides my Man *Friday*, who was too much a Stranger to be capable of ſupplying the Place of a Servant on the Road.

In this Manner I ſet out from *Lisbon*; and our Company being all very well mounted and armed, we made a little Troop, whereof they did me the Honour to call me Captain, as well becauſe I was the oldeſt Man, as becauſe I had two Servants, and indeed was the Original of the whole Journey.

As I have troubled you with none of my Sea-Journals, ſo I ſhall trouble you now with none of my Land-Journal: But ſome Adventures that hap-

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pen'd to us in this tedious and difficult Journey, I muſt not omit.

When we came to *Madrid*, we being all of us Strangers to *Spain*, were willing to ſtay ſome time to ſee the Court of *Spain*, and to ſee what was worth obſerving; but it being the latter Part of the Summer, we haſten'd away, and ſet out from *Madrid* about the Middle of *October*: But when we came to the Edge of *Navarre*, we were alarm'd at ſeveral Towns on the Way, with an Account, that ſo much Snow was fallen on the *French* Side of the Mountains, that ſeveral Travellers were obliged to come back to *Pampeluna*, after having attempted, at an extream Hazard to paſs on.

When we came to *Pampeluna* it ſelf, we found it ſo indeed; and to me that had been always uſed to a hot Climate, and indeed to Countries where we could ſcarce bear any Cloaths on, the Cold was inſufferable; nor indeed was it more painful than it was ſurprizing, to come but ten Days before out of the *Old Caſtile*, where the Weather was not only warm, but very hot; and immediately to feel a Wind from the *Pyrenean* Mountains, ſo very keen, ſo ſeverely cold, as to be intollerable, and to endanger benumbing and periſhing of our Fingers and Toes.

Poor *Friday* was really frighted when he ſaw the Mountains all cover'd with Snow, and felt cold Weather, which he had never ſeen or felt before in his Life.

To mend the Matter, when we came to *Pampeluna*, it continued ſnowing with ſo much Violence, and ſo long, that the People ſaid, Winter was come before its time, and the Roads which were difficult before, were now quite impaſſable: For in a Word, the Snow lay in ſome Places too thick for us to travel; and being not hard frozen, as

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is the Caſe in Northern Countries: There was no going without being in Danger of being bury'd alive every Step. We ſtaid no leſs than twenty Days at *Pampeluna*; when ſeeing the Winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better; for it was the ſevereſt Winter all over *Europe* that had been known in the Memory of Man. I propos'd that we ſhould all go away to *Fonterabia*, and there take Shipping for *Bourdeaux*, which was a very little Voyage.

But while we were conſidering this, there came in four *French* Gentlemen, who having been ſtopp'd on the *French* Side of the Paſſes, as we were on the *Spaniſh*, had found out a Guide, who traverſing the Country near the Head of *Languedoc*, had brought them over the Mountains by ſuch Ways, that they were not much incommoded with the Snow; and where they met with Snow in any Quantity, they ſaid it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their Horſes.

We ſent for this Guide, who told us, he would undertake to carry us the ſame Way with no Hazard from the Snow, provided we were armed ſufficiently to protect us from wild Beaſts; for he ſaid, upon theſe great Snows, it was frequent for ſome Wolves to ſhow themſelves at the Foot of the Mountains, being made ravenous for Want of Food, the Ground being covered with Snow: We told him, we were well enough prepar'd for ſuch Creatures as they were, if he would enſure us from a Kind of two-legged Wolves, which we were told, we were in moſt Danger from, eſpecially on the *French* Side of the Mountains.

He ſatisfy'd us there was no Danger of that kind in the Way that we were to go; ſo we readily agreed to follow him, as did alſo twelve other Gentlemen,

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tlemen, with their Servants, ſome *French*, ſome *Spaniſh*, who, as I ſaid, had attempted to go, and were oblig'd to come back again.

Accordingly, we all ſet out from *Pampeluna*, with our Guide, on the fifteenth of *November*; and indeed, I was ſurpriz'd, when inſtead of going forward, he came directly back with us, on the ſame Road that we came from *Madrid*, above twenty Miles; when being paſs'd two Rivers, and come into the plain Country, we found our ſelves in a warm Climate again, where the Country was pleaſant, and no Snow to be ſeen; but on a ſudden, turning to the left, he approach'd the Mountains another Way? and though it is true, the Hills and Precipices look'd dreadful, yet he made ſo many Tours, ſuch Meanders, and led us by ſuch winding Ways, that we were inſenſibly paſs'd the Height of the Mountains, without being much incumbred with the Snow; and all on a ſudden, he ſhew'd us the pleaſant fruitful Provinces of *Languedoc* and *Gaſcoign*, all green and flouriſhing; tho' indeed it was at a great Diſtance, and we had ſome rough Way to paſs yet.

We were a little uneaſy however, when we found it ſnow'd one whole Day, and a Night, ſo faſt, that we could not travel; but he bid us be eaſy, we ſhould ſoon be paſt it all: We found indeed, that we began to deſcend every Day, and to come more *North* than before; and ſo depending upon our Guide, we went on.

It was about two Hours before Night, when our Guide being ſomething before us, and not juſt in Sight, out ruſhed three monſtrous Wolves, and after them a Bear, out of a hollow Way, adjoyning to a thick Wood; two of the Wolves flew upon the Guide, and had he been half a Mile before us, he had been devour'd indeed, before we could have

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have help'd him: One of them faſtned upon his Horſe, and the other attack'd the Man with that Violence, that he had not Time, or not Preſence of Mind enough to draw his Piſtol, but hollow'd and cry'd out to us moſt luſtily; my Man *Friday* being next to me, I bid him ride up, and ſee what was the Matter; as ſoon as *Friday* came in Sight of the Man, he hollow'd as loud as t'other, *O Maſter! O Maſter!* But like a bold Fellow, rode directly up to the poor Man, and with his Piſtol ſhot the Wolf that attack'd him into the Head.

It was happy for the poor Man, that it was my Man *Friday*; for he having been us'd to that kind of Creature in his Country, had no Fear upon him; but went cloſe up to him, and ſhot him as above; whereas any of us, would have fir'd at a farther Diſtance, and have perhaps either miſs'd the Wolf, or endanger'd ſhooting the Man.

But it was enough to have terrify'd a bolder Man than I, and indeed it alarm'd all our Company, when with the Noiſe of *Friday*'s Piſtol, we heard on both Sides the diſmalleſt Howling of Wolves, and the Noiſe redoubled by the Eccho of the Mountains, that it was to us as if there had been a prodigious Multitude of them; and perhaps indeed there was not ſuch a Few, as that we had no Cauſe of Apprehenſions.

However, as *Friday* had kill'd this Wolf, the other that had faſtned upon the Horſe, left him immediately, and fled; having happily faſtned upon his Head, where the Boſſes of the Bridle had ſtuck in his Teeth; ſo that he had not done him much Hurt: The Man indeed was moſt Hurt; for the raging Creature had bit him twice, once on the Arm, and the other time a little above his Knee; and he was juſt as it were tumbling down by the

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Diſorder of his Horſe, when *Friday* came up and ſhot the Wolf.

It is eaſy to ſuppoſe, that at the Noiſe of *Friday*'s Piſtol, we all mended our Pace, and rid up as faſt as the Way (which was very difficult) would give us leave, to ſee what was the Matter; as ſoon as we came clear of the Trees, which blinded us before, we ſaw clearly what had been the Caſe, and how *Friday* had diſengag'd the poor Guide; though we did not preſently diſcern what kind of Creature it was he had kill'd.

"But never was a Fight manag'd ſo hardily, and in ſuch a ſurprizing Manner, as that which follow'd between *Friday* and the Bear, which gave us all (though at firſt we were ſurpriz'd and afraid for him) the greateſt Diverſion imaginable: As the Bear is a heavy, clumſey Creature, and does not gallop as the Wolf does, who is ſwift, and light; ſo he has two particular Qualities, which generally are the Rule of his Actions; Firſt, As to Men, who are not his proper Prey; I ſay, not his proper Prey; becauſe tho' I cannot ſay what exceſſive Hunger might do, which was now their Caſe, the Ground being all cover'd with Snow; but as to Men, he does not uſually attempt them, unleſs they firſt attack him: On the contrary, if you meet him in the Woods, if you don't meddle with him, he won't meddle with you; but then you muſt take Care to be very civil to him, and give him the Road; for he is a very nice Gentleman, he won't go a Step out of his Way for a Prince; nay, if you are really afraid, your beſt way is to look another Way, and keep going on; for ſometimes if you ſtop, and ſtand ſtill, and look ſteadily at him, he takes it for an Affront; but if you throw or toſs any Thing at him, and it hits him, though it were but a bit of a Stick, as big as your Finger, he takes it for an Affront, and ſets all his

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his other Buſineſs aſide to purſue his Revenge; for he will have Satisfaction in Point of Honour; that is his firſt Quality: The next is, That if he be once affronted, he will never leave you, Night or Day, till he has his Revenge; but follows at a good round rate, till he overtakes you.

My Man *Friday* had deliver'd our Guide, and when we came up to him, he was helping him off from his Horſe; for the Man was both hurt and frighted, and indeed the laſt more than the firſt; when on the ſudden, we ſpy'd the Bear come out of the Wood, and a vaſt monſtrous one it was, the biggeſt by far that ever I ſaw. We were all a little ſurpriz'd when we ſaw him; but when *Friday* ſaw him, it was eaſy to ſee Joy and Courage in the Fellow's Countenance; *O! O! O!* ſays *Friday*, three times, pointing to him; *O Maſter! You give me te Leave, me ſhakee te Hand with him; me make you good laugh.*

I was ſurpriz'd to ſee the Fellow ſo pleas'd; *You Fool you*, ſays I, *he will eat you up: Eatee me up! Eatee me up!* ſays *Friday*, twice over again; *Me eatee him up: Me make you good laugh: You all ſtay here, me ſhow you good laugh;* ſo down he ſits, and gets his Boots off in a Moment, and put on a Pair of Pumps, (as we call the flat Shoes they wear) and which he had in his Pocket, gives my other Servant his Horſe, and with his Gun away he flew ſwift like the Wind.

The Bear was walking ſoftly on, and offer'd to meddle with no Body, till *Friday* coming pretty near, calls to him, as if the Bear could underſtand him; *Hark ye, hark ye*, ſays *Friday*, *me ſpeakee wit you*: We follow'd at a Diſtance; for now being come down on the *Gaſcoign* ſide of the Mountains, we were entred a vaſt great Foreſt, where the Country was plain, and pretty open, though many Trees in it ſcatter'd here and there.

Friday

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Friday, who had as we ſay, the Heels of the Bear, came up with him quickly, and takes up a great Stone, and throws at him, and hit him juſt on the Head; but did him no more harm, than if he had thrown it againſt a Wall; but it anſwer'd *Friday*'s End; for the Rogue was ſo void of Fear, that he did it purely to make the Bear follow him, and ſhow us ſome Laugh as he call'd it.

As ſoon as the Bear felt the Stone, and ſaw him, he turns about, and comes after him, taking Deviliſh long Strides, and ſhuffling along at a ſtrange Rate, ſo as would have put a Horſe to a midling Gallop; away runs *Friday*, and takes his Courſe, as if he run towards us for Help; ſo we all reſolv'd to fire at once upon the Bear, and deliver my Man; though I was angry at him heartily, for bringing the Bear back upon us, when he was going about his own Buſineſs another Way; and eſpecially I was angry that he had turn'd the Bear upon us, and then run away; and I call'd out, *You Dog*, ſaid I, *is this your making us laugh? Come away, and take your Horſe, that we may ſhoot the Creature*; he hears me, and crys out, *No ſhoot, no ſhoot, ſtand ſtill, you get much Laugh.* And as the nimble Creature run two Foot for the Beaſt's one, he turn'd on a ſudden, on one ſide of us, and ſeeing a great Oak-Tree, fit for his Purpoſe, he beckon'd to us to follow, and doubling his Pace, he gets nimbly up the Tree, laying his Gun down upon the Ground, at about five or ſix Yards from the Bottom of the Tree.

The Bear ſoon came to the Tree, and we follow'd at a Diſtance; the firſt Thing he did, he ſtopp'd at the Gun, ſmelt to it, but let it lye, and up he ſcrambles into the Tree, climbing like a Cat, though ſo monſtrouſly heavy: I was amaz'd at the Folly, as I thought it, of my Man, and could not for my Life ſee any Thing to laugh at yet, till ſeeing

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ing the Bear get up the Tree, we all rod nearer to him.

When we came to the Tree, there was *Friday* got out to the ſmall End of a large Limb of the Tree, and the Bear got about half way to him; as ſoon as the Bear got out to that part where the Limb of the Tree was weaker, *Ha*, ſays he to us, *now you ſee me teachee the Bear dance*; ſo he falls a jumping and ſhaking the Bough, at which the Bear began to totter, but ſtood ſtill, and began to look behind him, to ſee how he ſhould get back; then indeed we did laugh heartily: But *Friday* had not done with him by a great deal; when he ſees him ſtand ſtill, he calls out to him again, as if he had ſuppos'd the Bear could ſpeak *Engliſh*; *What, you no come farther? Pray you come farther*; ſo he left jumping and ſhaking the Trees; and the Bear, juſt as if he had underſtood what he ſaid, did come a little farther, then he fell a jumping again, and the Bear ſtopp'd again.

We thought now was a good time to knock him on the Head, and I call'd to *Friday* to ſtand ſtill, and we would ſhoot the Bear; but he cry'd out earneſtly, *O pray! O pray! No ſhoot, me ſhoot by and then*; he would have ſaid, *by and by*. However, to ſhorten the Story, *Friday* danc'd ſo much, and the Bear ſtood ſo tickliſh, that we had laughing enough indeed, but ſtill could not imagine what the Fellow would do; for firſt we thought he depended upon ſhaking the Bear off; and we found the Bear was too cunning for that too; for he would not go out far enough to be thrown down, but clings faſt with his great broad Claws and Feet, ſo that we could not imagine what would be the End of it, and where the Jeſt would be at laſt.

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But *Friday* put us out of doubt quickly; for seeing the Bear cling fast to the Bough, and that he would not be perswaded to come any farther; *Well, well,* says *Friday, you no come farther, me go, me go; you no come to me, me go come to you;* and upon this, he goes out to the smallest End of the Bough, where it would bend with his Weight, and gently lets himself down by it, sliding down the Bough, till he came near enough to jump down on his Feet, and away he run to his Gun, takes it up, and stands still,

Well, said I to him, *Friday,* What will you do now? Why don't you shoot him? *No shoot,* says *Friday, no yet, me shoot now, me no kill; me stay, give you one more laugh;* and indeed so he did, as you will see presently; for when the Bear see his Enemy gone, he comes back from the Bough where he stood; but did it mighty leisurely, looking behind him every Step, and coming backward till he got into the Body of the Tree; then with the same hinder End foremost, he come down the Tree, grasping it with his Claws, and moving one Foot at a Time, very leisurely; at this Juncture, and just before he could set his hind Feet upon the Ground, *Friday* stept up close to him, clapt the Muzzel of his Piece into his Ear, and shot him dead as a Stone.

Then the Rogue turn'd about, to see if we did not laugh, and when he saw we were pleas'd by our Looks, he falls a laughing himself very loud; *so we kill Bear in my Country,* says *Friday;* so you kill them, says I, why you have no Guns: *No;* says he, *no Gun, but shoot, great much long Arrow.*

This was indeed a good Diversion to us; but we were still in a wild Place, and our Guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew; the Howling of Wolves run much in my Head; and indeed,

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deed, except the Noiſe I once heard on the Shore of *Africa*, of which I have ſaid ſomething already, I never heard any thing that fill'd me with ſo much Horrour.

Theſe Things and the Approach of Night, call-led us off, or elſe, as *Friday* would have had us, we ſhould certainly have taken the Skin of this monſtrous Creature off, which was worth ſaving; but we had three Leagues to go, and our Guide haſten'd us; ſo we left him, and went forward on our Journey.

The Ground was ſtill cover'd with Snow, tho' not ſo deep and dangerous as on the Mountains, and the ravenous Creatures, as we heard afterwards, were come down into the Foreſt and plain Country, preſs'd by Hunger to ſeek for Food; and had done a great deal of Miſchief in the Villages, where they ſurpriz'd the Country People, kill'd a great many of their Sheep and Horſes, and ſome People too.

We had one dangerous Place to paſs, which our Guide told us, if there were any more Wolves in the Country, we ſhould find them there; and this was in a ſmall Plain, ſurrounded with Woods on every Side, and a long narrow Defile or Lane, which we were to paſs to get through the Wood, and then we ſhould come to the Village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an Hour of Sun-ſet when we enter'd the firſt Wood, and a little after Sun-ſet, when we came into the Plain. We met with nothing in the firſt Wood, except, that in a little Plain within the Wood, which was not above two Furlongs over, we ſaw five great Wolves croſs the Road, full Speed one after another, as if they had been in Chace of ſome Prey, and had it in View,

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they took no Notice of us, and were gone, and out of our Sight in a few Moments

Upon this our Guide, who, by the Way, was a wretched faint-hearted Fellow, bid us keep in a ready Posture; for he believ'd there were more Wolves a coming.

We kept our Arms ready, and our Eyes about us, but we saw no more Wolves, 'till we came thro' that Wood which was near half a League, and enter'd the Plain: As soon as we came into the Plain, we had Occasion enough to look about us; the first Object we met with was a dead Horse; that is to say, a poor Horse which the Wolves had kill'd, and at least a Dozen of them at Work; we could not say eating of him, but picking of his Bones rather, for they had eaten up all the Flesh before.

We did not think fit to disturb them at their Feast; neither did they take much Notice of us: *Friday* would have let fly at them, but I would not suffer him by any Means; for I found we were like to have more Business upon our Hands than we were aware of. We were not gone half over the Plain, but we began to hear the Wolves howl in the Wood on our Left, in a frightful Manner, and presently after we saw about a hundred coming on directly towards us, all in a Body, and most of them in a Line, as regularly as an Army drawn up by experienc'd Officers. I scarce knew in what Manner to receive them; but found to draw our selves in a close Line was the only Way; so we form'd in a Moment: But that we might not have too much Interval, I order'd, that only every other Man should fire, and that the others who had not fir'd should stand ready to give them a second Volley immediately, if they continued to advance upon us, and that then those

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those who had fir'd at first, should not pretend to load their Fusees again, but stand ready with every one a Pistol; for we were all arm'd with a Fusee, and a Pair of Pistols each Man; so we were by this Method able to fire six Volleys, half of us at a Time; however, at present we had no Necessity; for upon firing the first Volley, the Enemy made a full Stop, being terrify'd as well with the Noise as with the Fire; four of them being shot into the Head, dropp'd; several others were wounded, and went bleeding off, as we could see by the Snow: I found they stopp'd, but did not immediately Retreat; whereupon remembring that I had been told, that the fiercest Creatures were terrify'd at the Voice of a Man, I caus'd all our Company to hollow as loud as we could, and I found the Notion not altogether mistaken; for upon our Shout, they began to retire, and turn about; then I order'd a second Volley to be fir'd in their Rear, which put them to the Gallop, and away they went to the Woods.

This gave us Leisure to charge our Pieces again, and that we might lose no Time, we kept going; but we had but little more than loaded our Fusees, and put our selves into a Readiness, when we heard a terrible Noise in the same Wood, on our Left, only that it was farther onward the same Way we were to go.

The Night was coming on, and the Light began to be dusky, which made it worse on our Side: But the Noise encreasing, we could easily perceive that it was the howling and yelling of those hellish Creatures; and on a sudden, we perceiv'd two or three Troops of Wolves, one on our Left, one behind us, and one on our Front; so that we seem'd to be surrounded with 'em; however, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our Way forward, as fast as

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we could make our Horſes go, which, the Way being very rough, was only a good large Trot; and in this Manner we came in View of the Entrance of a Wood, through which we were to paſs, at the farther Side of the Plain; but we were greatly ſurpriz'd, when coming nearer the Lane, or Paſs, we ſaw a confus'd Number of Wolves ſtanding juſt at the Entrance.

On a ſudden, at another opening of the Wood, we heard the Noiſe of a Gun; and looking that Way, out ruſh'd a Horſe, with a Saddle and a Bridle on him, flying like the Wind, and ſixteen or ſeventeen Wolves after him, full Speed; indeed, the Horſe had the Heels of them; but as we ſuppos'd that he could not hold it at that Rate, we doubted not but they would get up with him at laſt, and no queſtion but they did.

But here we had a moſt horrible Sight; for riding up to the Entrance where the Horſe came out, we found the Carcaſs of another Horſe, and of two Men, devour'd by the ravenous Creatures, and one of the Men was no doubt the ſame who we heard fir'd the Gun; for there lay a Gun juſt by him, fir'd off; but as to the Man, his Head and the upper Part of his Body was eaten up.

This fill'd us with Horror, and we knew not what Courſe to take, but the Creatures reſolv'd us ſoon, for they gather'd about us preſently, in Hopes of Prey, and I verily believe there were three hundred of them: It happen'd very much to our Advantage, that at the Entrance into the Wood, but a little Way from it, there lay ſome large Timber Trees, which had been cut down the Summer before, and I ſuppoſe lay there for Carriage: I drew my little Troop in among thoſe Trees, and placing our ſelves in a Line, behind one long Tree, I adviſ'd them all to light, and keeping that Tree before

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fore us, for a Breaſt-Work, to ſtand in a Triangle, or three Fronts, encloſing our Horſes in the Center.

We did ſo, and it was well we did; for never was a more furious Charge than the Creatures made upon us in the Place; they came on us with a growling kind of a Noiſe (and mounted the Piece of Timber, which, as I ſaid, was our Breaſt-Work) as if they were only ruſhing upon their Prey; and this Fury of theirs, it ſeems, was principally occaſion'd by their ſeeing our Horſes behind us, which was the Prey they aim'd at: I order'd our Men to fire as before, every other Man; and they took their Aim ſo ſure, that indeed they kill'd ſeveral of the Wolves at the firſt Volley; but there was a Neceſſity to keep a continual Firing; for they came on like Devils, thoſe behind puſhing on thoſe before.

When we had fir'd our ſecond Volley of our Fuſees, we thought they ſtopp'd a little, and I hop'd they would have gone off; but it was but a Moment; for others came forward again; ſo we fir'd two Volleys of our Piſtols, and I believe in theſe four Firings, we had kill'd ſeventeen or eighteen of them, and lam'd twice as many; yet they came on again.

I was loath to ſpend our laſt Shot too haſtily; ſo I call'd my Servant, not my Man *Friday*, for he was better employ'd; for with the greateſt Dexterity imaginable, he had charg'd my Fuſee and his own, while we were engag'd; but as I ſaid, I call'd my other Man, and giving him a Horn of Powder, I bad him lay a Train, all along the Piece of Timber, and let it be a large Train: He did ſo, and had but juſt Time to get away, when the Wolves came up to it, and ſome were got up upon it; when I ſnapping an uncharg'd Piſtol cloſe to the Pow-

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der, ſet it on fire; thoſe that were upon the Timber were ſcorch'd with it, and ſix or ſeven of them fell, or rather jump'd in among us, with the Force and Fright of the Fire; we diſpatch'd theſe in an Inſtant, and the reſt were ſo frighted with the Light, which the Night (for it was now very near Dark) made more terrible, that they drew back a little.

Upon which I order'd our laſt Piſtol to be fir'd off in one Volley, and after that we gave a Shout; upon this the Wolves turn'd Tail, and we ſally'd immediately upon near twenty lame ones, who we found ſtruggling on the Ground, and fell a cutting them with our Swords, which anſwer'd our Expectation; for the Crying and Howling they made was better underſtood by their Fellows, ſo that they all fled and left us.

We had, firſt and laſt, kill'd about three more of them; and had it been Day-Light, we had kill'd many more. The Field of Battle being thus clear'd, we made forward again; for we had ſtill near a League to go. We heard the ravenous Creatures howl and yell in the Woods as we went, ſeveral Times; and ſometimes we fancy'd we ſaw ſome of them; but the Snow dazling our Eyes, we were not certain: So in about an Hour more, we came to the Town where we were to lodge, which we found in a terrible Fright, and all in Arms; for it ſeems, that the Night before, the Wolves and ſome Bears had broke into the Village, and put them in a terrible Fright; and they were oblig'd to keep Guard Night and Day, but eſpecially in the Night, to preſerve their Cattle, and indeed their People.

The next Morning our Guide was ſo ill, and his Limbs ſwell'd with the rankling of his two Wounds, that he could go no farther; ſo we were oblig'd to take

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take a new Guide there, and go to *Tholouſe*, where we found a warm Climate, a fruitful pleaſant Country, and no Snow, no Wolves, or any Thing like them; but when we told our Story at *Tholouſe*, they told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great Foreſt at the Foot of the Mountains, eſpecially when the Snow lay on the Ground: But they enquir'd much what kind of a Guide we had gotten, that would venture to bring us that Way in ſuch a ſeyere Seaſon; and told us, it was very much we were not all devour'd. When we told them how we plac'd ourſelves, and the Horſes in the Middle, they blam'd us exceedingly, and told us it was fifty to one but we had been all deſtroy'd; for it was the Sight of the Horſes which made the Wolves ſo furious, ſeeing their Prey; and that at other Times they are really afraid of a Gun; but the being exceſſive hungry, and raging on that Account, the Eagerneſs to come at the Horſes had made them ſenſeleſs of Danger; and that if we had not by the continu'd Fire, and at laſt by the Stratagem of the Train of Powder, maſter'd them, it had been great Odds but that we had been torn to Pieces; whereas had we been content to have ſat ſtill on Horſeback, and fir'd as Horſemen, they would not have taken the Horſes for ſo much their own, when Men were on their Backs, as otherwiſe; and withal, they told us, that at laſt, if we had ſtood altogether, and left our Horſes, they would have been ſo eager to have devour'd them, that we might have come off ſafe, eſpecially having our Fire Arms in our Hands, and being ſo many in Number.

For my Part, I was never ſo ſenſible of Danger in my Life; for ſeeing above three hundred Devils come roaring and open mouth'd to devour us, and having nothing to ſhelter us, or retreat to, I gave myſelf over for loſt; and as it was, I believe, I

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ſhall never care to croſs the Mountains again; I think I would much rather go a thouſand Leagues by Sea, tho' I were ſure to meet with a Storm once a Week.

I have nothing uncommon to take Notice of, in my Paſſage thro' *France*; nothing but what other Travellers have given an Account of, with much more Advantage than I can. I travell'd from *Thouloufe* to *Paris*, and without any conſiderable Stay, came to *Callais*, and landed ſafe at *Dover*, the fourteenth of *January*, after having had a ſevere cold Seaſon to travel in.

I was now come to the Center of my Travels, and had in a little Time all my new diſcover'd Eſtate ſafe about me, the Bills of Exchange which I brought with me having been very currently paid.

My principal Guide, and Privy Counſellor, was my good ancient Widow, who, in Gratitude for the Money I had ſent her, thought no Pains too much, or Care too great, to employ for me; and I truſted her ſo entirely with every Thing, that I was perfectly eaſy as to the Security of my Effects; and, indeed, I was very happy from my Beginning, and now to the End, in the unſpotted Integrity of this good Gentlewoman.

And now I began to think of leaving my Effects with this Woman, and ſetting out for *Liſbon*, and ſo to the *Braſils*; but now another Scruple came in my Way, and that was Religion; for as I had entertain'd ſome Doubts about the *Roman* Religion, even while I was abroad, eſpecially in my State of Solitude; ſo I knew there was no going to the *Braſils* for me, much leſs going to ſettle there, unleſs I reſolv'd to embrace the *Roman* Catholick Religion, without any Reſerve; unleſs, on the other Hand, I reſolv'd to be a Sacrifice to my Principles, be a Martyr for Religion, and die in the Inquiſition; ſo

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I resolv'd to stay at Home, and if I could find Means for it, to dispose of my Plantation.

To this Purpose, I wrote to my old Friend at *Lisbon*, who in Return gave me Notice, that he could easily dispose of it there: But that if I thought fit to give him Leave to offer it in my Name to the two Merchants, the Survivors of my Trustees, who liv'd in the *Brasils*, who must fully understand the Value of it, who liv'd just upon the Spot, and who I knew were very rich, so that he believ'd they would be fond of buying it, he did not doubt, but I should make 4 or 5000 Pieces of Eight the more of it.

Accordingly I agreed, gave him Order to offer it to them, and he did so; and in about 8 Months more, the Ship being then return'd, he sent me an Account that they had accepted the Offer, and had remitted 33000 Pieces of Eight to a Correspondent of theirs at *Lisbon*, to pay for it.

In Return, I sign'd the Instrument of Sale in the Form which they sent from *Lisbon*, and sent it to my old Man, who sent me Bills of Exchange for 3288000 Pieces of Eight to me, for the Estate; reserving the Payment of 100 Moidores a Year to him, the old Man, during his Life, and 50 Moidores afterwards to his Son for his Life, which I had promis'd them, which the Plantation was to make good as a Rent-Charge. And thus I have given the first Part of a Life of Fortune and Adventure, a Life of Providences Checquer-Work, and of a Variety which the World will seldom be able to show the like of: Beginning foolishly, but closing much more happily than any Part of it ever gave me Leave so much as to hope for.

Any one would think, that in this State of complicated good Fortune, I was past running any more Hazards; and so indeed I had been, if other Cir-

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Circumstances had concurr'd, but I was inured to a wandring Life, had no Family, not many Relations, nor, however rich, had I contracted much Acquaintance; and tho' I had sold my Estate in the *Brasils*, yet I could not keep the Country out of my Head, and had a great Mind to be upon the Wing again, especially I could not resist the strong Inclination I had to see my Island, and to know if the poor *Spaniards* were in Being there, and how the Rogues I left there had used them.

My true Friend, the Widow, earnestly dissuaded me from it, and so far prevail'd with me, that for almost seven Years she prevented my running Abroad; during which Time, I took my two Nephews, the Children of one of my Brothers into my Care: The eldest having something of his own, I bred up as a Gentleman, and gave him a Settlement of some Addition to his Estate, after my Decease; the other I put out to a Captain of a Ship; and after five Years, finding him a sensible bold enterprising young Fellow, I put him into a good Ship, and sent him to Sea: And this young Fellow afterwards drew me in, as old as I was, to farther Adventures myself.

In the mean Time, I in part settl'd myself here; for first of all I marry'd, and that not either to my Disadvantage or Dissatisfaction, and had three Children, two Sons and one Daughter: But my Wife dying, and my Nephew coming Home with good Success from a Voyage to *Spain*, my Inclination to go Abroad, and his Importunity, prevail'd, and engag'd me to go in his Ship, as a private Trader to the *East-Indies*: This was in the Year 1694.

In this Voyage I visited my new Colony in the Island, saw my Successors the *Spaniards*, had the whole Story of their Lives, and of the Villains I left there; how at first they insulted the poor *Spaniards*,

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niards; how they afterwards agreed, disagreed, united, separated, how at last the *Spaniards* were oblig'd to use Violence with them, how they were subjected to the *Spaniards*, how honestly the *Spaniards* used them; a History, if it were entred into, as full of Variety and wonderful Accidents, as my own Part, particularly also as to their Battles with the *Caribeans*, who landed several Times upon the Island, and as to the Improvement they made upon the Island itself, and how five of them made an Attempt upon the main Land, and brought away eleven Men and five Women Prisoners, by which, at my coming, I found about twenty young Children on the Island.

Here I stay'd about twenty Days, left them Supplies of all necessary Things, and particularly of Arms, Powder, Shot, Cloaths, Tools, and two Workmen, which I brought from *England* with me, *viz.* a Carpenter and a Smith.

Besides this, I shar'd the Island into Parts with 'em, resery'd to myself the Property of the Whole, but gave them such Parts respectively as they agreed on; and having settled all Things with them, and engag'd them not to leave the Place, I left them there.

From thence I touch'd at the *Brasils*, from whence I sent a Bark, which I bought there, with more People to the Island, and in it, beside other Supplies, I sent seven Women, being such as I found proper for Service, or for Wives to such as would take them: As to the *Englishmen*, I promis'd them to send them some Women from *England*, with a good Cargoe of Necessaries, if they would apply themselves to Planting; which I afterwards perform'd. And the Fellows prov'd very honest and diligent after they were master'd, and had their Properties set apart for them. I sent them

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also from the *Brasils* five Cows, three of them being big with Calf, some Sheep, and some Hogs, which, when I came again, were considerably increas'd.

But all these Things, with an Account how 300 *Caribbees* came and invaded them, and ruin'd their Plantations, and how they fought with that whole Number twice, and were at first defeated, and three of them kill'd; but at last a Storm destroying their Enemies Canoes, they famish'd or destroy'd almost all the rest, and renew'd and recover'd the Possession of their Plantation, and still liv'd upon the Island.

All these Things, with some very surprizing Incidents in some new Adventures of my own, for ten Years more, I may, perhaps, give a farther Account of hereafter.

F I N I S.

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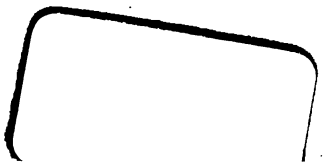

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